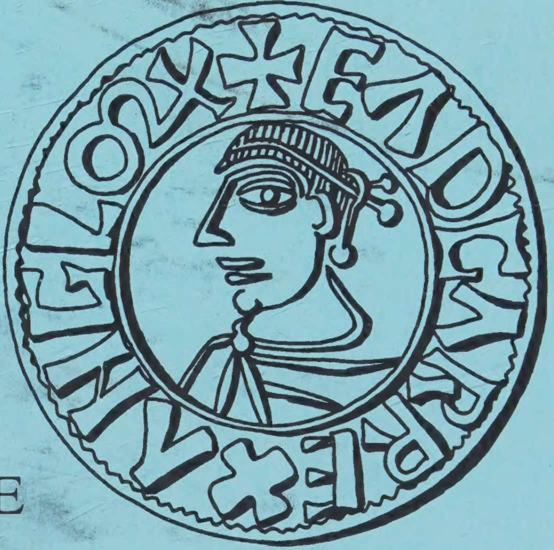
COMMENTATIONES DE NUMMIS SAECULORUM IX-XI

IN SUECIA REPERTIS. NOVA SERIES 1

KENNETH JONSSON



The New Era

THE REFORMATION OF THE LATE ANGLO-SAXON COINAGE

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NOVA SERIES

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To my parents

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PREFACE

Following the revival of research in Anglo-Saxon coinage in the 1950s, one of the most inflamed issues soon became that of the reform of the coinage at the end of the reign of Edgar (c. 973). The implications of the reform for the entire structure of the coinage were to last for a century and a half. A large number of papers have been devoted to various aspects of the reform, and one might well suppose that nothing more is to be said. Yet although the debate has been long and intensive, not all the basic material for our knowledge of the first period following the reform has been presented. In this respect the present volume tries to bring our knowledge of the reform, and its implications, one step further. The most interesting periods connected with the reform are of course those where the major changes take place, i.e. the beginning and the end. The long-term questions involving modifications as time went on cannot be answered here, as that would require analyses of subsequent types of coins. Some aspects presented here may, however, be of use when discussing later types, as well.

The first issue following the reform is known today from just over 850 coins, and this may seem a small number for a thesis. My personal view, however, is that whenever one tries to investigate a large group of coins the result often fails to fulfil one's expectations. This is no doubt connected with the reduced ability to examine the material deeply enough, as a consequence of the sheer volume of coins involved. With a small group, on the other hand, it is possible to scrutinize the coinage in greater detail, which in the end will be more rewarding.

When the work on this study began I had no preconceived ideas about the results [Cf. Malmer 1984 for the approach to theories and artefacts]. It would perhaps have been logical to start by formulating a series of questions which the study would aim to answer. Some would have been unanswered when the study came to an end while others could have resulted in grand visions and speculative theories. However, I believe that such an approach may fail to detect the more obvious results, where less speculation will be needed. The dreary toil of accumulating the basic facts is hence a necessary ordeal without which nothing can be based. In my own experience the process of becoming familiar with and working with a material is at the same time bound to provide a wealth of new knowledge and more information than it is possible to present in a single thesis. This process of letting the material speak for itself, without trying to find answers to questions (where it is all too easy to try to comply with preconceived ideas), is the 'great adventure' of research, since the results that lurk around the corner will not be achieved if the aim is limited to finding answers to the 'right' questions. Questions will of course have to be raised all the time but will be less pretentious – and having the simple question 'Why?' as a constant reminder is really all that is needed.

The reason why I became involved with the reform is of course the Scandinavian connection. Beginning with the Reform issue the export of Anglo-Saxon coins to Scandinavia takes on a new dimension, from virtually nothing to (at least) something; one need only recall that almost a third of the material known today comes from Scandinavian finds. This is basically in conflict with the view held by many, i.e. that the coins arrived in Scandinavia as a result of raiding in England by the Vikings, in spite of the fact that no raids are recorded from this period. It is also a testimony to the fact that the links between England and Scandinavia in the late Viking Age developed slowly and with occasional set-backs that are often hidden in the superficially continuous stream of coins. The Scandinavian connection has peripheral bearing on the main topic of this volume, which deals with events in England, but in another respect it is of vital importance. As the basis for an analysis of the coinage will always be the finds and the coins themselves, it is crucial to know to what extent the surviving coins are a mirror of the coinage as a whole, and to what extent they are chronologically and geographically prejudiced. Without a knowledge of the events and forces behind the finds, our ability to evaluate the surviving coins will lose one important dimension. Hence the material may be biassed from the start, although we will be less able to take this into account. It was my intent to include an appendix dealing with this problem, and pointing to some general features, but since the subject is quite extensive and apt to computer treatment, it was in the end decided that it is better suited for a publication of its own. It was thus excluded from the present work.

My earliest acquaintance with the first issue following the reform springs from my archaeological studies at the University of Lund, where my major undergraduate paper (in 1972) was devoted to the beginning of the import of Anglo-Saxon coins to Sweden and the reform of Edgar. It goes without saying that the subject was too extensive for such a term paper. It did, however, spark my interest in the issue, an interest that has involved travels to England, Poland, East Germany, and of course to the various Scandinavian countries. These travels have most generously been paid for by *Sven Svenssons Stiftelse för Numismatik* and *Gunnar Ekströms Stiftelse för Numismatisk Forskning,* to both of which I am very grateful. The staff at the various museums which I have visited have always received me with patience and have been very helpful.

A post at the Royal Coin Cabinet (Kungl. Myntkabinettet), Stockholm during the mid 1970s allowed me to work on the hoard material from the Viking Age. My appointment also included work in the CNS-project, the aim of which is to publish all the Swedish finds from the Viking Age. Over the years I began to realize the enormous potential of the information that the hoards can provide when trying to analyse a coinage.

In this respect a symposium held at Oxford in 1981 offered an opportunity to survey the Viking-Age hoards from Northern Europe in a joint publication, which included lists of the finds of Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman coins [Blackburn & Jonsson 1981]. It was then possible for me to at least scratch the surface of the information concealed in the Swedish and Danish hoards.

Throughout this period I have always had a special feeling for the first issue following the reform. However, as I was committed to work on other numismatic studies, the opportunity to work more intensively with the Reform coins never materialized. A first ambition to present a corpus of the material was finally achieved earlier this year, when a catalogue of these coins was included in a book which I had devoted to Anglo-Saxon coins [Jonsson 1987]. It also provides updated summary lists of all the known finds from Denmark and Sweden with Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman coins. The book is thus intended to present the basic information necessary for the present study. Although the catalogue merely lists the surviving coins and their provenances, without details of inscriptions, weights etc., the references which are given will often provide the necessary information in these respects, as well. An illustrated catalogue with full details will also be presented in the future, although the catalogue already published has been deemed sufficient at this stage. Hence the present publication does not include a systematic catalogue of the material, although it does list the individual hoards and stray finds, with respect to the first issue following the reform.

The near future will probably see a breakthrough in the use of computers in the field of numismatics. Industrial applications such as CAD (computer aided design) and CAM (computer aided manufacturing) may soon be followed by CAA (computer aided analysis) within numismatics. Coins are ideally suited for computer treatment, and more and more public collections will use computers to store information about the coins in their collections. The real boost to numismatic research will, however, no doubt come from analysing the hoards with the help of computers. In this respect the present study may have been one of the first to enlist the aid of a computer to analyse a coinage (Edgar pre-reform) which in many respects is anonymous.

It is implicit that history means written history, and archaeological material usually belongs in a prehistoric context. In the numismatic field many coins were struck during periods when only scattered historic events are recorded, and many kings are known only from their coins. In such circumstances the added information which the coins can provide is self-evident. The full potential of the coins as a historic source has, however, only been recognised in exceptional cases. In this respect the blame must attach to the numismatists who, too often, have chosen to concentrate on the coins themselves and to ignore their historical context. It is obvious that coins have much to add to the economic history, but a coinage is often also vital for an understanding of administrative functions and, as such, of the political history. The reformation of the late Anglo-Saxon coinage offers an example of how far reaching political events, although not recorded in the written sources of the time, can nevertheless be reconstructed with the help of the coinage.

Work on this study began in June 1986 and was completed in August 1987. A most generous research grant from *Gunnar Ekströms Stiftelse för Numismatisk Forskning* has made it possible for me to work full time on the material for a year.

For the part dealing with the pre-reform coinage of Edgar, which involves series that are virtually never found in Scandinavia, I am very grateful to Christopher Blunt who has been most helpful. His unrivalled knowledge of the material has been indispensable, and he has made valuable remarks and answered numerous letters with questions concerning individual coins. He has also most kindly provided copies of the coins listed in CTCE in advance of publication.

I am also grateful to a number of people who have been very helpful in various respects among which the following especially deserve to be mentioned: Marion Archibald (British Museum, London) for supplying many of the photos that are included here; Mark Blackburn (Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge) for providing information of stray finds in advance of publication; Dr Simon Keynes (Trinity College, Cambridge) concerning the historical aspects; Lars O. Lagerqvist (Royal Coin Cabinet, Stockholm) who besides being in charge of many of the coins which are treated here has shown a personal interest in my work; William Lean (Godstone) for information in advance of publication especially concerning coins of York; David Minugh (University of Stockholm) for correcting and improving my English; Dr Veronica Smart (University of St. Andrews) concerning the normalized names of the moneyers and their origins; Ulla Westermark (Royal Coin Cabinet, Stockholm) for help and encouragement; Majvor Östergren (Ragu, Visby) for information concerning the Gotlandic hoards.

The seminars in archaeology led by Professor Mats P. Malmer have invariably been instructive, providing me with fresh approaches concerning methodical questions.

Professor Brita Malmer has from the start encouraged my studies and made valuable suggestions.

Stockholm, August 1987

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BM – remainder.

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1. INTRODUCTION

1.1. Aim and limitations of the present study

The reform of the Anglo-Saxon coinage at the end of the reign of Edgar (957/9-75) was, in the light of history, decisive for the general pattern of the coinage to the reign of Stephen (1135-54). It would of course be convenient to regard this period as one of stability and continuity, when the reform at one single blow created a coinage where nothing could be improved upon. Needless to say this is a description that is far from the truth. On the contrary it is evident that changes were undertaken more or less constantly, although the surviving coins allow us only to investigate certain aspects. The study of the first issue after the reform, which is presented here, will, in consequence, be aimed at that issue alone. Although the result of the reform for the period involved will be made clear, my intension is hence not to discuss the long range implications which involve e.g. the chronology of the following issues. It will be left to future research to decide to what extent the pattern of the first issue has general applications for the future or to any other single issue. This will, however, not imply an acceptance of the now more or less established chronology, but simply indicate that views on that matter must be based on a thorough investigation of the material relevant to each issue.

The first issue following the reform was struck by three consecutive kings and the types involved have thus been given slightly varying names: Edgar Reform Small Cross, Edward the Martyr Normal Small Cross, and Æthelred II First Small Cross. The aim of this study is to investigate the background of the reform, as well as the immediate effects of the reform, as reflected in the coinage of these three types. For the pre-reform coinage it will be limited to a survey, which is intended to anlyze the structure of the coinage based on the hoards, and hence not treating the coins themselves in detail. For the early post-reform coinage the objective is the same, but additionally presenting a detailed picture of the coinage based on the coins. The long-range consequences of the reform for the succeeding coinage will only be discussed briefly.

Each and every historical event belongs in a historical context, and the reform of the coinage is no exception. It is here suggested that this reform is part of a national policy which attempted to change the basic structure of English society. The last years of Edgar's reign thus saw the beginning of ambitious plans, the full range of which are left to speculation, as they were cut short by his untimely death.

1.2. Method

The method used is primarily analytical based on the surviving coins and the recorded hoards, while comparative studies are used when relevant material is available. An analysis of a coinage involves a number of different elements. The few existing written sources usually relate to later periods or the original documents are not preserved. Decisions of which motifs should be used were taken at a regional or national level. The same applies to the weights, but there was evidently also room for local influence. Other aspects relate to a local level. The modern term 'market forces' could decide the pattern for how long coins would remain in circulation, but could also be the result of measures decided on a high level. From the above it is apparent that the coinage was influenced from different levels and in different directions, and this must be borne in mind when the material is analysed.

For the pre-reform period the publication covering the coinage of Athelstan 924-39 offers the best comparative material although the difference in time will limit its usefullness in this respect [Blunt 1974]. The major investigations which have been published so far about late Anglo-Saxon coinage are concentrated to specific problems and do not cover the full range of problems involved. They basically cover three elements:

1) a particular mint where the only major mint covered so far is Lincoln, and the investigation is limited to dies, weights, and moneyers' names [Mossop 1970]

2) styles used for a particular type [For references see section 4.4]
3) weights for the Anglo-Saxon coinage in the post-reform period based on the major mints and groups of mints [Petersson 1969].

For the present study the available comparative material is thus not always relevant.

1.3. General definitions and remarks

1.3.1 Types

The late Anglo-Saxon coin types are generally named after the motif on the reverse and/or the obverse. The present study concerns the coins that were struck immediately following the reform, and which have common motifs showing a left-facing bust on the obverse and a small cross on the reverse (fig. 1.1).

	Date	*Descriptive name*	*BMC*	*Hd*
Edgar	973-5	Reform Small Cross (RSC)	VI	C2
Edward the Martyr	975-8	Normal Small Cross (NSC)	I	A
Æthelred II	978-9	First Small Cross (FSC)	I	A

The dates for the types above are those suggested by Dolley. The three types combined constitute what is here termed the Reform issue, i.e. the first issue in circulation following the reform. The subsequent period consists of coins of the First Hand type, the Second Hand type, and the Benediction Hand type (fig. 4.1). Combined, they are referred to as the Hand issue, but pending a definitive study of the three types, this must not imply that they were all necessarily allowed to circulate at one and the same time. In this case the term Hand issue is used for convenience.

No distinction was made in Hd of the separate issues of Small Cross (Hd A) struck during Æthelred II, but it has become practice to refer to them as A1 (First Small Cross), A2 (Intermediate Small Cross), and A3 (Last Small Cross), respectively (fig. 4.1) The BMC classification does not distinguish between the separate Small Cross issues. The definition for Intermediate Small Cross (ANGLO) X) presented in 1955 [Dolley & Elmore Jones 1955] has been valid until recently. Dies of a local London style, which do not comply with the definition, and so far only known from Intermediate Small Crux mules show, however, that the definition is no longer valid [Jonsson 1987, 110].

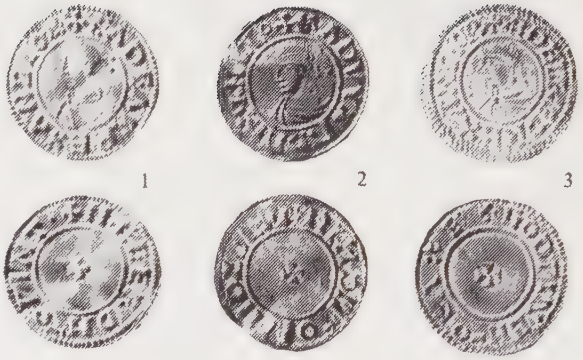


Fig. 1.1. The types of the Reform issue: 1 – Edgar Reform Small Cross; 2 –Edward the Martyr Normal Small Cross; 3 – Æthelred II First Small Cross.

It is not possible to present definitions that cover all of the known coins from the three different Small Cross types of Æthelred II, but the following survey cover more than 95% of the existing coins:

First Small Cross: coins of the styles defined in section 4.4 below.

Intermediate Small Cross: coins with ANGLO) X or of the London style mentioned above.

Last Small Cross: coins of the styles defined in Dolley 1958A.

The coins which at present cannot be classified according to either of these categories consist of:

a) a small number of First Small Cross coins of local styles and with a weight ranging from 1.59 g to 1.00 g
b) a fairly limited number of Last Small Cross coins of local styles and with a weight ranging from 1.89 g to 1.03 g [Based on the weights of coins of uncertain style as defined in Dolley 1958A].

For these two groups of coins the attribution will be decided from hoard context or otherwise from whether the moneyer is known from other types of either of the two periods.

1.3.2 The names of the moneyers

As the spelling of the name of a moneyer could differ depending on the engraver, the time, and the place, it is important that names of the moneyers are rendered in their normalized form in order to avoid duplication and other misinterpretations. What is to be considered a normalized spelling is sometimes open to debate, depending on whether an Old English (OE), Continental Germanic (CG), Old Norse (ON) etc. origin is preferable. In general, however, the names would appear to present limited problems. No accepted survey covering the entire material of the names of the moneyers exists today, but an excellent index of the names found in the SCBI has been published by Veronica Smart [Smart 1981, 1-81]. It is already proving indispensable, and future expanded editions will no doubt be the standard work of reference.

Throughout the text, the names of the moneyers have been normalized [Smart 1981 or Feilitzen & Blunt 1971], but in the lists of finds the names are rendered as they actually appear on the coins.

1.3.3 Geographical areas

For the period of the Reform issue, England has been divided into areas that basically correspond to the former kingdoms, with the additions of eastern Mercia, which is here termed the Danelaw, and London. Their respective areas cover the following counties (fig. 4.40):

Wessex: Berkshire, Cornwall, Devonshire, Dorset, Essex, Hampshire, Hertfordshire, Kent, Oxfordshire, Somerset, Surrey, Sussex, and Wiltshire.

London: Middlesex.

Mercia: Cheshire, Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, Shropshire, Staffordshire (north-west), Warwickshire, and Worcestershire.

East Anglia: Norfolk and Suffolk.

Danelaw: Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Cambridgeshire, Derbyshire, Huntingdonshire, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire, Northamptonshire, Nottinghamshire, Rutlandshire, Staffordshire (south-east) and Stamfordshire.

Northumbria: Yorkshire.

2. THE BASIS – AN OUTLINE OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE COINAGE TO 957/9

The Celtic tribes in Britain struck coins of their own already in the pre-Christian era, and the Romans operated some mints. Even before the fall of the Roman Empire the coinage had come to a halt, not to be resumed until the beginning of the seventh century when first gold and later silver coins (sceattas) were struck. Another hundred and fifty years passed before the broad penny period commenced, which also marks the beginning of the survey below [An excellent survey of the penny coinage up to Edward the Elder (899-924) is to be found in Grierson & Blackburn 1986, 267-325].

2.1. Historical background

The Germanic tribes that emigrated to the British Isles from the middle of the fifth century onwards founded a number of kingdoms. At the time when they began to strike broad pennies the number of kingdoms had been reduced to five: Northumbria to the north of the Humber, Mercia which approximately covered the Midlands, East Anglia in the east, Kent in the south-east, and Wessex in the remainder of the south (fig. 2.1).

Northumbria was only exceptionally involved in the political events in southern England. Its isolation was broken by the Viking attacks that ended in the downfall of the kingdom, and its occupation by Vikings of Danish origin from 866-76 onwards. Norwegian Vikings from Dublin seized power in York in c. 919, where they subsequently ruled, interrupted by periods of English domination, until they were finally driven away by the English in 954.

To the south Mercia was at first the leading kingdom, but after 825 Wessex took over that position. Kent and East Anglia were often dependent on, or subject to, Mercia or Wessex, but they also enjoyed longer or shorter periods of complete independence.

The Viking attacks on England led to the occupation of East Anglia from 869-79 onwards and the partition of Mercia in 873-7. Wessex, however, managed to keep its independence under Alfred (871-99). Western Mercia also became annexed to Wessex, although keeping some independence.

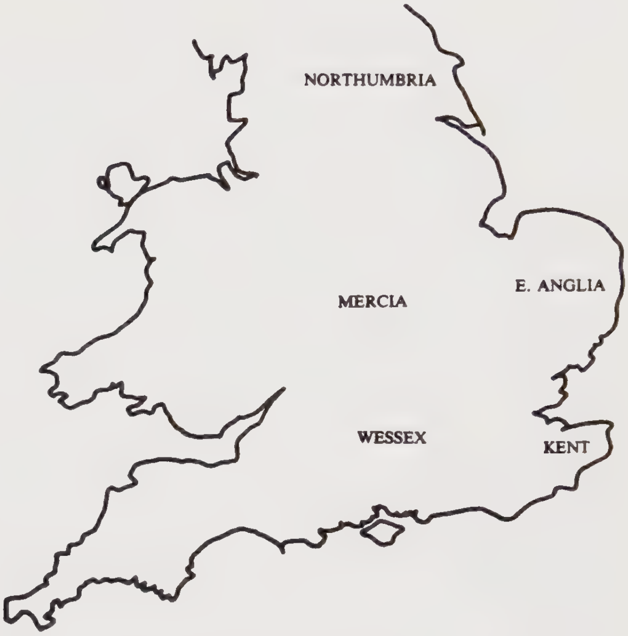


Fig. 2.1. England during the early ninth century.

During the process whereby Wessex and Mercia led the reconquest of the territories occupied by the Vikings, Mercia also lost its remaining independence. The kings of Wessex from Athelstan (924-39) onwards were now kings of practically all of England, and after changing hands several times the region north of the Humber was also finally subdued in 954.

2.2. Issuing authorities – royal and feudal coinage

The right to issue coins was a royal prerogative, and in Anglo-Saxon England the first evidence is seen in the restored sceatta coinage in East Anglia during Beonna (749-57?). Some spiritual leaders were granted the right to strike coins, and although this could have occurred as early as the sceatta coinage [Blunt 1960, iii], the first proof of it is seen after the inception of the broad penny.

In the north the archbishop of York at first struck coins jointly with the king. Later on coins were struck in the name of the archbishop, starting with Egbert (c. 732-66) and ending with Wulfhere (c. 854-900?), but using the same type as the king. Coinages in the north in the name of St. Martin or St. Peter (c. 905-27) has often been regarded as being struck for the Church, but they are perhaps better seen as secular issues. If they indeed were eccesiastical, the latter coinage may in 931 have been succeeded by a type with a church (?) as a motif [Blunt 1974, 91-2].

In the south the archbishops of Canterbury participated in the coinage from the very beginning of the broad penny coinage, first jointly with the king, and then in their own name from Wulfred (805-32) onwards, and using their own types. They adhered to the standard types from c. 852, but after 923 they ceased to use their own name on the coins, and the coins struck for the archbishop can henceforth not be distinguished from those struck for the king at Canterbury. In the Grateley decrees from c. 926-30 the archbishop of Canterbury was entitled to two moneyers [EHD 420].

There has been a difference in opinion as to whether a series of coins from the 780s with the name Eadberth (jointly with Offa) should denote the moneyer, or Bishop Eadberht (772/82-787/9) of London [Blunt 1961, 43-4; Grierson & Blackburn 1986, 279].

The bishop of Rochester was allowed one moneyer according to the Grateley codes [EHD 420]. No coins struck in his own name are known, but three groups of coins without the name of a moneyer but with the legend Dorobrebia Civitas (821-3), Scs Andreas (Apostolus) (c. 828-39), or Occidentalium Saxoniorum (c. 839-43), have all been regarded as coins of the bishop, who at this time was Beornmod (803/5-842/4).

The abbot of Canterbury had the right to employ one moneyer following the Grateley decrees. As no coins are known the position was probably the same as for the coinage of the bishop of Rochester.

Offa's wife Cynetryth issued a remarkable coinage c. 790 in her own name and with the title Regina, but it is best regarded as part of the royal coinage.

Another exceptional anonymous royal and archepiscopal coinage was struck in c. 822-3 at Canterbury, only giving the name of the moneyer [Grierson & Blackburn 1986, 289].

2.3. Denominations

Silver was the basic metal for the coinage in the Anglo-Saxon period. Beginning with the introduction of the broad penny in c. 765/80 and to the end of the period, the penny was for all practical purposes the only denomination that was struck. The exceptions are confined to extremely rare halfpennies in silver known from Alfred (871-99) to Edwig (955-7/9). Halfpennies struck by the Vikings in Northumbria about 900 are more common.

For a corresponding period the gold coins are confined to three mancuses from the time of King Offa (757-96) (and Coenwulf 796-821?) of Mercia, one from Archbishop Wigmund (c. 837-54) of York, as well as one struck with penny dies from Edward the Elder (899-924) of Wessex, while the existence of a gold coin of Alfred (871-99) must remain in doubt [Blunt 1948; Grierson & Blackburn 1986, 328-31].

The coins struck in Northumbria before it surrendered to the Vikings in 867 were also different from those of the rest of England. Northumbria continued the earlier sceatta coinage in silver but during the last decades it became severely debased and only had a nominal silver content.

2.4. Types

In the north the coinage of the Northumbrian kingdom until its collapse in 867 was basically Merovingian in character, with a cross on either side, although a few early types show originality. The coins struck by the Vikings in that area from c. 890 on started with imitations of types struck by Alfred (871-99) of Wessex, and continued with coins of a Carolingian character. From c. 920 the types are innovative during the remaining periods of Viking domination.

The coinage in the south was of quite a different character, and here the mints often changed hands as the fortunes of the various kingdoms rose and fell. After the broad penny coinage had commenced in c. 765/80 the variation in motif is virtually endless and usually original and sometimes connected to the moneyer. No standardization of the type took place until the weight of the penny was raised in c. 792, when some progress towards this end was achieved. London and Canterbury used the same type from c. 798 until c. 804, when all the mints introduced a common obverse but each struck a different reverse type. A fourth mint (Rochester) started to operate in c. 810 and in the following period up to c. 852 there are times when more than one mint struck the same type, even if the general pattern shows a diversity of types. With the new type that was introduced in c. 852 a period begins when a standard type was used at Canterbury by the king of Wessex and the archbishop. It was struck by two kings and then

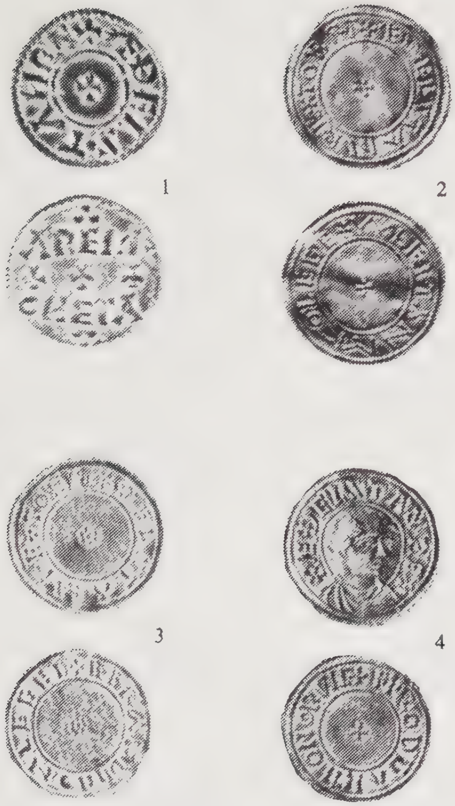


Fig. 2.2. The four standard types during the tenth century: 1 – Two-line; 2 – Circumscription Cross; 3 – Circumscription Rosette; 4 – Crowned Bust.

replaced by a new standard type in c. 862-6. This latter type was the same as the one which had been introduced by Burgred of Mercia in c. 860; the result was a common type for all the southern mints with the exception of that in East Anglia, where a pattern of types connected to the moneyers may be seen.

Outside of East Anglia the common type for the mints was supplanted by a series of successive types that ends with the Two-line type introduced in c. 888. The Two-line type had a much more simple design, with a cross on the obverse and the name of the moneyer on the reverse (fig. 2.2:1), as compared with the often elaborate motifs of the preceding types, where a portrait was a standard feature.

With the introduction of the Two-line type a new pattern is evident, as it was struck in major parts of the country, with only brief interruptions during the entire period up to the reform of c. 973. To this new form of standard type other standard types were added like the Circumscription Cross type (small cross on either side) and Circumscription Rosette type (rosette on either side) (fig. 2.2:2-3). Both types were first struck by Athelstan (924-39), who also introduced the Crowned Bust type (bust on obverse and small cross on the reverse) (fig. 2.2:4). Local types were also struck, and local varieties of the Two-line type are evident from Edmund (939-46) onwards.

The types used during Athelstan (924-39) were the four mentioned above as well as three others: Diademed Bust (diademed bust on obverse and small cross on reverse), Helmet (helmeted bust on obverse and cross crosslet on reverse), a diminutive Floral type (in essence a Two-line type with added flower sprays on the reverse), and finally an archiepiscopal(?) issue struck at York with a small cross on the obverse and a building (church?) on the reverse (see section 2.2).

Edmund (939-46) struck the Two-line, Circumscription Cross, Circumscription Rosette, Crowned Bust, and Helmet types, besides a different Floral type (small cross on obverse and flower above moneyer's name on reverse).

Edred (946-55) had a coinage that covered the Two-line and Crowned Bust types, as well as the same Floral type as Edmund.

Edwig (955-7/9) used the earlier Two-line, Circumscription Cross, Crowned Bust, and three Floral types. Of the Floral types one corresponds to Edmund and Edred, while the second has a branching ornament on the reverse, and the third resembles the Two-line type but has a pattern of branches on the obverse. Two other types were also added, the One-line (small cross on obverse and moneyer's name on a single line on reverse) and the Three-line types. The latter type is equal to the Two-line type, but it also includes the name of the mint in the middle line.

2.5. Mints

For the late Anglo-Saxon period there are few exceptions to the rule that each borough possessed a mint at some stage. That boroughs were granted the right to have mints is first apparent in the Grateley charters (c. 926-30), where the list of named mints is followed by the statement that there are 'otherwise in the other boroughs one' moneyer [EHD 420].

Based on the lack of die-links it has been suggested that the moneyers who signed their coins with the name of a common borough did not have to share the same premises, and hence it has been argued that the moneyer was the more important [Brand 1984, 45-49; Pagan 1986, 49].

The conditions under which the moneyers operated no doubt changed with time and place. The number of published die-studies is limited for the pre-reform period, and such studies usually cover only a small body of coins. For the late Anglo-Saxon period, the only multiple-moneyer mint for which a die study has been published is Lincoln [Mossop 1970]. The number of recorded die-links between moneyers are very few at Lincoln, but a forthcoming study of the York mint will reveal heavy die-linking among the moneyers [Lean 1988]. It indicates that the situation could be completely different even at the very largest mints.

Even if 'mint' should be used with care during some periods and perhaps at certain mints even at a late date, it must be considered premature to give a general redefinition of the term. It is no doubt true that 'mint', defined as a single workshop to which all the moneyers active in one borough were confined, does not have general application for the pre-reform period, but a general suggestion to the opposite effect – that each moneyer acted as a mint – could be equally rash. Too many uncertainties still attach to the organization of the moneyers, and how they worked, for us to state a general definition unless it is limited in time and space in view of regional differences and changes occurring over time. In anticipation of further studies it is, however, practical to denote the term 'mint' as referring to a particular borough, which is mentioned on a group of coins, and the term will be used as such in this study.

2.5.1 The penny period before Alfred

Although it is possible to locate some mints with confidence in the sceatta period, using either inscriptions (London) or the pattern of the finds (Hamwic etc.), it is with the introduction of the broad penny that a new epoch begins. From now on the identification of different mints is in general on safer ground (fig. 2.3). The name of the mint is, however, seldom rendered on the coins, and attributions to particular mints have been made using other means.

London may have been the earliest mint to strike the broad penny introduced in c. 765/80 though it is not mentioned on any coin until the reign of Egbert of Wessex (802-39). As one of the foremost trading centres it ranked among the leading mints. Coins were struck there almost continuously.

Canterbury was the leading mint during the initial phase in view of its rank as the commercial centre of Kent, which at this time would appear to be more economically developed and enjoying a favourable geographical position for contacts with the continent. As the seat of the archbishop it was also an ecclesiastical centre. Coins were alternatingly struck in the name of a Kentish or a Mercian ruler from the beginning in c. 765/80 (perhaps earlier than London) and up to 825, depending on the fortunes of the respective kingdoms. After the battle of Ellendun in 825 it was permanently in the hands of Wessex. The Viking attack in 850/1 possibly caused a short interruption in the coinage [Pagan 1986, 57-8].

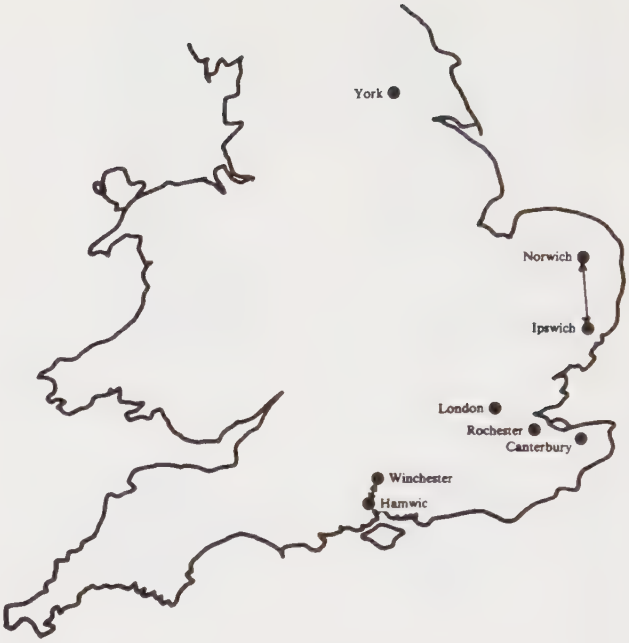


Fig. 2.3. Mints during the pre-Alfred period.

A mint was set up at Rochester in c. 810 [Blunt, Lyon & Stewart 1963, 22-3], and it enjoyed a prominent position in the early phase, with a peak in the 840s, but from the 850s its coins can no longer be distinguished from those of Canterbury and it is uncertain to what extent it continued to strike coins [Pagan 1986, 58].

Winchester, the capital of Wessex, and Southampton have both been suggested as the West Saxon mint that produced a coinage which was confined to two short periods during Beorhtric (786-802), and in the 830s and 840s during Egbert (802-39) and Æthelwulf (839-58), respectively [Dolley 1970; Pagan 1986, note 2; Stewart 1986, note 9].

The East Anglian mint that operated throughout the early phase and until the kingdom was overthrown by the Vikings in 870, has been identified with either Ipswich or Norwich [Pagan 1982, 49].

York was the centre of Northumbria and struck the sceattas and stycas series up to 866/7, when the town was captured by the Danes.

In conclusion only half a dozen mints have been identified before Alfred, of which one issued very spasmodically, but it is possible that more mints will be identified in the future.

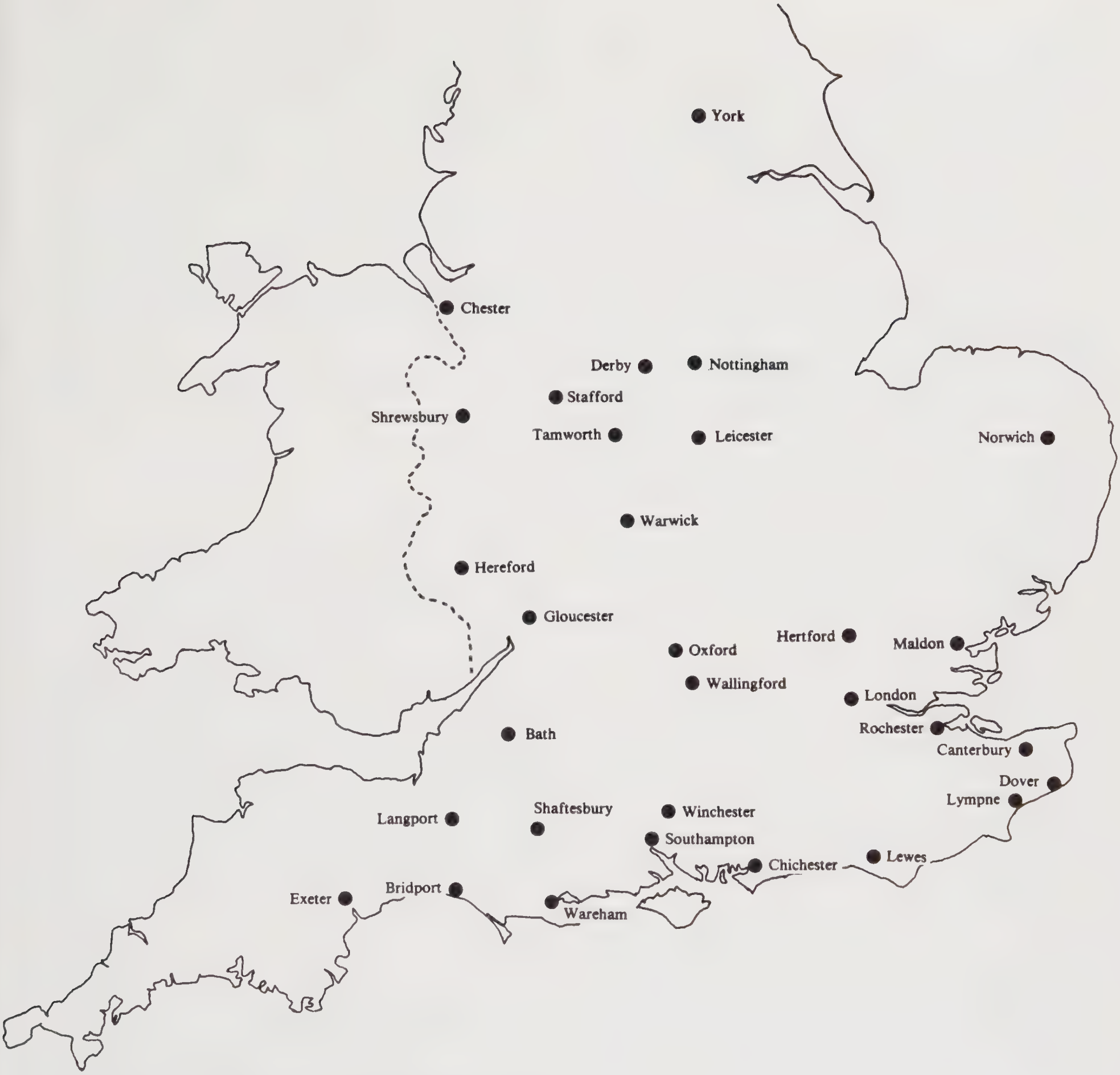

York
Chester
Derby
Nottingham
Stafford
Shrewsbury
Tamworth
Leicester
Norwich
Warwick
Hereford
Gloucester
Oxford
Hertford
Maldon
Wallingford
London
Rochester
Bath
Canterbury
Dover
Lympne
Langport
Shaftesbury
Winchester
Southampton
Chichester
Lewes
Exeter
Bridport
Wareham

Fig. 2.4. Mints of Athelstan (excluding unidentified mints).

2.5.2 The mints from Alfred to Edwig

With the recapture of London by Alfred from Guthrum in 886 the war between Wessex and the Vikings had reached a turning point. The London monogram series was no doubt introduced shortly afterwards, but may have lasted for a fairly brief period. The Two-line type that was to become one of the standard types up to the reform of Edgar was now also introduced. Four stylistic groups have been identified and associated with London, Canterbury, Winchester, and West Midlands (Chester and possibly Shrewsbury?). It is still uncertain to what extent these four groups each represent other mints than those where the dies where cut. Mint-signed coins of other types struck at Exeter, Gloucester, Oxford, and Winchester are also known from Alfred, while their chronological order within the reign is more uncertain, although believed to be late. As the four groups of the Two-line type would appear not to have commenced at the same time, it is possible that the mint-signed coins were struck just before the Two-line type was introduced at these mints.

In the areas controlled by the Vikings there were at the same time, besides possible minor mints with spasmodic output, mints at York, Lincoln, and Norwich (or Ipswich), which struck imitative coins or local types.

For the early part of the tenth century two important events contribute to our greater understanding of the coinage. The first was the laws issued by Athelstan at Grateley, undated but probably from c. 926-30 [EHD 417-22], where the section dealing with the coinage may be based on an earlier code [Blunt 1974, 40-1]. The second is the fact that the coins of Athelstan give the name of no less than 35 mints [Blunt 1974], to which there no doubt can be added a number of mints which struck coins without a mint-signature (fig. 2.4).

The Grateley codes stipulated the number of moneyers at each mint [EHD 420]:

Canterbury	7 (king – 4; bishop – 2; abbot – 1)
Rochester	3 (king – 2; bishop – 1)
London	8
Winchester	6
Lewes	2
Hastings	1
Chichester	1
Southampton	2
Wareham	2
Dorchester	1
Exeter	2
Shaftesbury	2
Other boroughs	1

The apparent discrepancies in the list with the mints known from mint-signed coins are explained by the fact that the list is confined to Wessex and Kent. With the exception of Dorchester and Hastings all the mints in the list are known from mint-signed coins of Athelstan. The remaining mints known from Athelstan are Bath, Bridport/Bredy, Chester, 'Darent', Derby, 'Ebro', Gloucester, Hereford, Hertford, Langport, Leicester, Lympne, Maldon, Norwich, Nottingham, Oxford, Shrewsbury, 'Smierl', Stafford, Tamworth, Thelwall?, Wallingford, Warwick?, 'Weardburh', and York [Blunt 1974].

A great number of the moneyers that struck mint-signed coins during the reign of Athelstan (871-99) are also found during that of Edward the Elder (899-924) [References are found in Blunt 1974 for the individual mints]. This shows that the majority of the mints known for Athelstan had already started to operate during Edward the Elder.

Very few of the coins of Edmund (939-46) and Edred (946-55) give the name of the mint, but presumably most mints continued to strike coins during these kings' reigns as well. The situation is much better during Edwig (955-7/9), when thirteen mints are found, of which the following were not known before: Barnstaple, Bedford, Huntingdon, Newark, as well as confirmation of Totnes.

It must be emphasized that the extent of mint-signatures on the coins in this period is directly connected to the types that were used, as e.g. mint-signatures are never found on coins of the Two-line type, while they are almost standard on coins of the Circumscription Cross type.

2.6. Die-cutting

In the early period the dies were cut at the identified mints at Canterbury, Rochester, London, Winchester/Southampton, and Ipswich(?). Especially in the beginning the dies at a mint could be cut by different engravers.

Four die-cutting centres have been identified in Alfred's Two-line type and connected with London, Canterbury, Winchester, and the West Midlands. They continued to work into the reign of Edward the Elder. For the following period up to the reform of Edgar eight die-cutting centres have been noted: Winchester, London, Canterbury, Chester, south-west Midlands, two in the east Midlands (probably Derby and Lincoln), and finally York.

2.7. Die distribution

It would appear that the mints were self-sufficient with regard to dies in the early period, but this is based on the present view of a limited number of mints and could change if it should be apparent that more mints were involved. For a period in the 840s Rochester obviously supplied dies to London, while Canterbury supplied dies to Rochester from c. 852.

The four die-cutting centres in Alfred's Two-line type would have supplied other nearby mints (given that they had started to operate by then) with dies as well, in which case Exeter, Gloucester, and Oxford may all have received their dies from Winchester.

The pattern with four centres continued in Edward the Elder, when Winchester had become the principal centre [CTCE forthcoming]. Their activities increased gradually as a number of new mints were opened, but nothing has yet been published as to which centres supplied which mints. After the conquest of East Anglia a new centre took over the activity of the one(s) formerly in Viking hands.

The pattern of the die-distribution becomes more complex during Athelstan. In the north the centres are more easily recognized and each obviously supplied surrounding mints, but due to the scarcity of mint-signatures on the coins it is not possible to state the individual mints that each was supplying.

For the remaining period up to the reform (c. 973), the necessary detailed analysis still awaits publication, although a basis is expected to be published in the forthcoming CTCE.

2.8. Moneyers

2.8.1 C. 765/80-851

For the period up to c. 851 the moneyers are dealt with in the more convenient order of mints, with the exception of the mint in East Anglia, which is covered to 869. It must be kept in mind that this survey is based on our present knowledge from surviving coins but new hoards may change this radically for some periods, where the number of presently surviving coins is artificially low.

A) Canterbury

The number of moneyers working at the inception of the broad penny coinage is dependent on whether the coinage started with Heaberht and Egberht or whether they interrupted a coinage which had been begun by Offa (757-96) [Blunt 1961, 53; Lyon 1967, 218-21]. If the latter is correct it would be possible to postulate a stable figure of six moneyers for the period up to Offa's death. If the first theory is valid there would only have been a few moneyers at work in the first few years.

At Canterbury coins were struck for a succession of kings in the period 796 to 851 and the number of moneyers active at any one time remained steady at five or six with an additional two striking for the archbishop [Pagan 1986, 48].

B) London

The Mercian king Offa (757-96) who gained control of Canterbury in c. 779/84 had coins struck in his name. There were probably five to six (or more?) moneyers working up to c. 805 [Stewart 1986]. In the following period there would seem only to have been one to three until c. 830, while five or six operated from c. 843, when the mint opened again, until c. 851 [Pagan 1986, 48].

C) Hamwic/Winchester

The abortive coinage of the Wessex king Beorthric (786-802) is known from two moneyers only and struck at Hamwic [Dolley 1970] or Winchester [Lyon 1986, 29].

D) Rochester

Coining started at Rochester in c. 810 and the number of moneyers probably never exceeded two until the period c. 842 to c. 851 when the numbers increase to six [Pagan 1986, 48].

E) East Anglia

At an unidentified mint in East Anglia (Ipswich?), the broad penny cooinage commenced in c. 790 when the Mercian king Offa ruled the area. The number of moneyers was two to three the first decade, and posssibly the same up to c. 821, when they at first were increased to six or seven and slightly later were reduced to four or five until the mint closed in 869. [Blunt, Lyon & Stewart 1963, 29-30; Pagan 1982, 49].

F) Northumbria

The royal and archepiscopal coinage, probably limited to York, does not incorporate the name of the moneyer until the end of the eighth century when one moneyer is recorded. From the early ninth century until the downfall of the kingdom in 866/7 the maximum number of moneyers at any given time was probably ten for the king and two for the archbishop. Towards the end their numbers may have been considerably less with perhaps three for the king and one for the archbishop.

2.8.2 C. 852-85

The different structure of the coinage from c. 852 makes it possible to estimate the number of moneyers for each type (for Northhumbria see previous paragraph). In the first type of the series c. 852-63, there is a drastic increase in the number of moneyers, as 59 are known, of which perhaps 40 operated at the peak of the production [Pagan 1986, 58]. The hoard evidence is meager for the succeeding type in c. 863-8, with only 8 recorded moneyers, which no doubt is a gross understatement of the true total. During the third type struck in c. 868-75 at Canterbury (and Rochester?) , but c. 860-71 in London, the total number of moneyers is almost incredible, 40 at the former and 64 at the latter mint. The hoard evidence is again scanty for the following three types, and their relative order is also somewhat uncertain but they cover the period c. 875-85 and they were only struck at Canterbury (and Rochester?). The number of moneyers are 22, 2, and 1, respectively, and this no doubt strongly exaggerates the decrease in production that occurred as a result of the war with the Vikings.

2.8.3 Alfred from 886 to Edwig

The name of only one moneyer is found on coins of the London monogram type, while the bulk of the coinage does not give the name of the moneyer. For the following period it is convenient to give the approximate number of moneyers known from each ruler for the different standard types [Based on North 1980]. In the summary below the varieties have been included within parenthesis under the main type, and it should be noted that a number of moneyers are known from more than one type.

	Two-line	Circum. Cross	Circum. Rosette	Crowned Bust
Alfred	60	–	–	–
Edward	140	–	–	(32)
Athelstan	100	105	17	57
Edmund	165	2	(2)	9
Edred	130	–	–	35
Edwig	68	7	(1)	1

In the areas occupied by the Vikings more than 70 moneyers are known from the St. Edmund coinage of c. 895-915, struck in East Anglia, and possibly elsewhere to some extent. The imitative coins that were probably struck in the area of the five boroughs (Lincoln, Leicester, Derby, Stamford, and Nottingham) do not give the name of the moneyers, and nor does the coinage at York in the names of Siefred and Cnut c. 900-5. During the Hiberno-Norse rule at York in the 920s to 950s a total of 16 moneyers are known, including one also known from Derby.

2.9. Weights

The weights of the coins from the pre-reform period have not at all received the same attention as for the post-reform period. Any survey of the material will thus be very superficial.

The first broad pennies weighed c. 1.20 g, and the weight was raised in c. 792 to c. 1.35 g. A further raise to c. 1.55 g was made in c. 886.

For the geographically expanded coinage of the tenth century the situation appears to become more complex. Any analysis of the material from this period will have to take account of the mint or (in the absence of mint-signature) at least the region where the coins were struck in order to recognize regional differencies. The additional hazard of distortions deriving from leaching and modern cleaning of similar coins with different hoard provenances must also be taken into account [cf. Metcalf 1986, 151].

The only satisfactory study published so far concerns the weights of the East Anglian coins of Edward the Elder (899-924) in the Morley St. Peter hoard [Petersson 1980]. The East Anglian coins are exclusively of the Crowned Bust type, and they weigh considerably less (mean weight 1.35 g) than the coins of the Two-line type (mean weight 1.58 g) in the same hoard. Within the East Anglian group it is also clear that the weight differences between moneyers and groups based on style must have been intentional since die-identical coins show minor variations in weight [Petersson 1980, 38].

The figures published for Athelstan on a type by type basis show some variation. A very large share of the total number of coins weigh between 1.36 g and 1.67 g [Blunt 1974, 58].

Besides limited individual investigations and observations it is thus at present not possible to draw general conclusions about the weight standards during the tenth century, but the forthcoming CTCE will provide some figures upon which further studies can be based.

2.10. Silver content

Many more analyses would be needed to give a reliable account of these developments, and some figures may consequently need revision in the future. At the end of the eighth and beginning of the ninth century the coins were about 95% fine. A change is not seen until after the middle of the century when a debasement starts, ending with coins that are 20% fine or less at the beginning of the 870s [Metcalf & Northover 1985]. It was, however, restored within a few years to more than 90%.

The silver content of the analyzed coins in the Edinburgh collection is usually about 90% fine for the period from Edward the Elder (899-924) to Edwig (955-7/9) [McKerrell & Stevenson 1972, 205-7].

In Northumbria the silver content was radically different from the south. The coins were 50-75% fine by the middle of the eighth century, declining from 40% in c. 830 to 5% in c. 840 and virtually only brass from c. 850.

2.11. Recoinages

In Northumbria the consistent use of a sole type for the coins does not leave room for possible recoinages.

In the south the multitude of types that were struck before c. 852 would make recoinages impossible, with the possible exception of a brief period in the 790s. For the period c. 852-86 the pattern with successive standard types common to more than one ruler and more than one mint, has led to the theory that a system with recoinages was introduced, a system that is reflected in the hoards where older types are no longer to be found [Dolley 1983]. An alternative explanation for the hoards could however have been the severe debasement underway during this period, which forced the older coins of better silver out of circulation [Grierson & Blackburn 1986, 307-8]. The reason suggested as to why the system ended with the introduction of the Two-line type is that imitative pieces struck in the areas controlled by the Vikings could have jeopardized the entire system [Dolley 1983, 155-7].

For the period from the introduction of the Two-line type in 887/8 to the reform of Edgar c. 973, no suggestions of recoinages have been presented.

2.12. Monetary regions

There is very little published material that covers monetary reegions, i.e. areas where the circulating coin stock had a similar appearance, indicating that the type(s) struck in the area circulated freely while coins struck outside of the area tended to be excluded from circulation. The monetary regions were created either because the circulation was regulated from a high level (issuing authority or a local authority) or a low level (self regulated based on active internal circulation and limited external circulation).

The coinage of Athelstan has been the subject of a detailed study by Blunt [Blunt 1974], who has shown that the coinage was far from being organized on a national level. On the contrary the coinage was very complex with a number of regional spheres, many of which were equal to the former kingdoms, while others can be connected with administrative areas that had emerged in the areas occupied by the Vikings. The different regions that Blunt has noted are:

a) Wessex and Kent combined
b) East Anglia
c) north-western Mercia
d) Derby, Nottingham, Tamworth, and Leicester
e) Lincoln area
f) south-eastern Mercia?
g) Northumbria
h) southern Welsh marshes?

No study has as of yet been published covering the coinage of Edmund, Edred, and Edwig, but the forthcoming CTCE will cover the coinage of the tenth century.

2.13. Foreign coins

In the sceatta coinage it is disputed to what extent some groups of coins were struck in England or imported from abroad. For later periods, however, the number of foreign coins found in England are very limited. Their absence show that the currency was restricted and foreign coins had to be exchanged, and they were then probably melted down. A sole instance of an overstrike on an imported coin has been recorded, concerning a coin of Cologne which was overstruck during the reign of Athelstan (924-39) [Blunt 1981].

The few hoards from the period up to 957/9 that contain foreign coins are nearly all likely to be associated with the Vikings. The hoard from Croydon, Surrey (BI 67), deposited in c. 872, is one exception (Kufic and Continental coins).

The number of recorded stray finds of foreign coins in England is also very limited for the period concerned and consists of the following finds:

1. Chichester, Sussex, before 1981. Carolingian Empire, Charles the Bald (840-77) [Archibald 1981].
2. Culm Davey, Devonshire, c. 1900. Carolingian Empire, Charles the Bald (840-77) [Dolley & Shiel 1980].
3. Exeter, Devonshire, before 1984. Imitation in base metal of a Carolingian solidus of Louis the Pious (814-40) [Archibald 1984].
4. Lavenham, Suffolk, 1980s. Denmark, Hedeby [Blackburn, Colyer & Dolley 1983, 24].
5. Thetford, Norfolk, c. 1980. Carolingian Empire, Charles the Bald (840-77) [Blackburn & Bonser 1984, no. 22].
6. Winchester, 1964. Caliphat, Samanid, Isma^cil ibn Ahmad, Samarkand 293 A.H. (905/6 A.D.) [Dolley & Blunt 1977, no. 26; the date corrected according to information from G. Rispling].
7. York (Coppergate), Northumberland, 1980. Denmark, Hedeby c. 850 [Pirie 1986, no. 45].
8. York (Coppergate), Northumberland, 1981. Carolingian Empire, Charles the Bald (840-77) [Pirie 1986, no. 46].
9. York (Coppergate), Northumberland, 1980. Imitation in base metal of Islamic dirham, Samanid, Isma^cil ibn Ahmad, Nisabur 296 R.H. (908/9 A.D.) [Pirie 1986, no. 47; the mint and date corrected accorded to information from G. Rispling].

As can be seen five of the coins have been found in areas under Viking control (nos. 4, 5, and 7–9). This effectively leaves a mere four foreign coins found in areas where the currency was restricted, and nearly all are connected with the Carolingian Empire.

3. THE PRELUDE – THE PRE-REFORM COINAGE OF EDGAR

An investigation of the coinage struck during Edgar's reign before the reform, i.e. 957/9 – c. 973, is necessary in order to establish the conditions that prevailed then. This is not the place to carry out a full scale investigation of the coinage, and the coins as such are not treated in detail (involving e.g. local styles, dies and die-links, abbreviation of the ethic, and weights) except when such information is relevant to a particular problem. The emphasis is rather on trying to present a study of the coinage in order to give an overall picture, using the hoards as the prime source of information. This study will include a regional analysis of the types that were struck and suggestions for a chronological order of the types. Another interesting aspect concerns coin circulation. Regional differences, of which only some will be discussed here, are of fundamental importance. Some questions are by their very nature more speculative, especially as this is not a full scale investigation, and involve e.g. the size of the coinage and the possibility of recoinages on a local level.

The analysis undertaken here owes much to information drawn from the regional division of the types in the collection in BM [Archibald & Blunt 1986], even though this is not stated in each and every case.

3.1. Historical background

At the death of Edred on 23 November 955, Edwig – the son of Edred's elder brother Edmund – was chosen king. Edwig was crowned towards the end of January 956, apparently at Kingston-upon-Thames. Some time during the summer of 957 an agreement was evidently reached according to which Edwig remained king in Wessex, while his brother Edgar became king of the Mercians, which in practice meant all the lands north of the Thames [Keynes 1985B].

Edgar had been born in 943, and when his mother died in the following year, Edgar was fostered in the house of Athelstan 'Half King', the powerful ealdorman of East Anglia. There Edgar came to know the abbot of Glastonbury, Dunstan, who no doubt exercised influence on Edgar's childhood [Hart 1973, 123-4]. Later, when he had become king, Edgar's cooperation with Dunstan was in many respects decisive for the whole reign. Edgar was first married to Æthelflœd, while his second wife Ælftryth, whom he married in 964, was the widow of Æthelwold, the ealdorman of East Anglia who was a son of Edgar's foster-father [Hart 1973, 129-30].

When Edwig died on 1 October 959, Edgar succeeded him and became king in the southern part of England as well. Edgar's reign has been noted as one of peace, which in a period otherwise remembered for the wars and hostilities with the Vikings was exceptional enough to give him the epithet the Peaceable. His reign was also important for its monastic revival, and his profitable cooperation with Archbishop Dunstan. There are a number of indications for the fact that Edgar was crowned as early as 960 or 961 [Nelson 1977, 63-7]. The coronation, which is officially recorded as having taken place at Bath on 11 May 973, two years before his death, would then have been an 'imperial' inauguration [Nelson 1977, 67-70]. In the same year Edgar also received homage from other kings in Wales and Scotland.

3.2. Types and varieties

Before discussing the coinage it is necessary to give an account of the known types and varieties. The forthcoming classification of the series in CTCE has already been made public [Archibald & Blunt 1986, xiv-xviii]. It is logically arranged and basically descriptive, except for the varieties where numbers or letters are used as completion. In the present study it has been deemed convenient to use a descriptive classification which enables the varieties to be instantly recognizable.

All coins of the Two-line type are regarded as varieties with the same basic motif. The first part of the name of each variety refers to the top and bottom section. The second part, following the slash, refers to the middle row between the two parts of the name of the moneyer. When nothing else is indicated, all references to the Two-line varieties will be to Two-line (cross).

Types and varieties that are not listed in BMC have been given an imaginary BMC number within parenthesis, in order to facilitate referral to all types and varieties according to a common system. The BMC classification is used for the tables.

Two-line (cross)

Obverse: Small cross within inscription.
Reverse: Moneyer's name in two lines. Ornaments at top and bottom, and between the name of the moneyer.
Varieties: *Pellet/three crosses* (BMC Ia, CTCE HP 1, Hd A var.). Plate 3.1:1.
Trefoil/three crosses (BMC I, CTCE HT 1, Hd A). Plate 3.1:2.
Trefoil/annulet-cross-annulet (BMC I(h), CTCE HT 2, Hd A var.). Plate 3.1:3.
Cross/three crosses (BMC Ib, CTCE HC 1, Hd A var.). Plate 3.1:4.
Rosette/three crosses (BMC Ic, CTCE HR 1, Hd A var.). Plate 3.1:5.
Rosette/cross-rosette-cross (BMC I(j), CTCE HR 1/4 var., Hd A var.). Plate 3.1:6 (drawing based on description).
Rosette/annulet-cross-annulet (BMC Id, CTCE HR 2, Hd Aa). Plate 3.1:7.
Rosette/three annulets (BMC Ie, CTCE HR 2 var., Hd Ab). Plate 3.1:8.

Two-line (rosette)

Obverse: Rosette within inscription.
Reverse: Moneyer's name in two lines. Ornaments at top and bottom, and between the name of the moneyer.
Varieties: *Rosette/three crosses* (BMC I(i), CTCE R/HR 1, Hd A var.). Plate 3.1:9.
Cross/three rosettes (BMC Ig, CTCE R/HC 4, Hd Ac.). Plate 3.1:10.
Rosette/three rosettes (BMC If, CTCE R/HR 4, Hd A var.). Plate 3.1:11.

Three-line (BMC II, CTCE HT 3, Hd A var.). Plate 3.1:12.
Obverse: As Two-line (cross).
Reverse: As Two-line (cross) Trefoil/three crosses, but mint-signature between the crosses.

Circumscription Cross (BMC III, CTCE CC, Hd B). Plate 3.1:13 and 3.2:1.
Obverse: Small cross within inscription.
Reverse: Small cross within inscription.

Circumscription Rosette (BMC IV, CTCE CR, Hd B var.). Plate 3.2:2.
Obverse: Rosette of pellets within inscription.
Reverse: Rosette of pellets within inscription.

Crowned Bust (BMC V, CTCE BC, Hd C1). Plate 3.2:3.
Obverse: Crowned bust to the right, breaking inscription at the bottom.
Reverse: Small cross within inscription.
Variety: *Circular* (BMC V(c), CTCE BC var., Hd C1 var.). Bust contained within the circular inscription. Plate 3.2:4.

Cross/floral (BMC (VII), CTCE Floral c, Hd –). Plate 3.2:5.
Obverse: Small cross within inscription.
Reverse: Branching ornament above moneyer's name on a single line, T and rosette below.

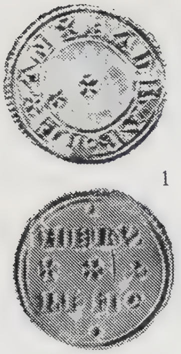
Floral/cross (BMC (VIII), CTCE Floral ei, Hd –). Plate 3.2:6.
Obverse: Small cross with branching ornament above and small cross below, all within inscription with branching ornament at top.
Reverse: Small cross within inscription.
Variety: *Floral cross/cross?* (BMC (VIIIa), CTCE Floral eii, Hd –). Branching ornament above cross(es?) on obverse. Plate 3.2:7.

There can also be additional marks or a letter on the obverse or reverse on all of the types save the Three-line type (see section 3.4). Mules also exist both ways between Circumscription Cross and Circumscription Rosette. Of the Two-line Rosette/cross-rosette-cross variety only a description is known [Rashleigh 280, Sotheby 21.6.1909]. The variety termed Floral cross/cross is known only from a fragment on which only the top of the motif is visible, and it is also possible that it was not struck during Edgar as only the beginning of the king's name (EAD…) is visible [Archibald & Blunt 1986, no. 1033].

With the exception of the Floral types, all the above types were struck on a major scale, and the denomination of each is one penny. There are, however, also a few, extremely rare, types struck as halfpennies.

Circumscription Cross (BMC (IX), CTCE CC, Hd –). Plate 3.2:8.
Obverse: Small Cross within inscription.
Reverse: Small Cross within inscription.

Monogram (BMC (X), CTCE London monogram, Hd –). Plate 3.2:9.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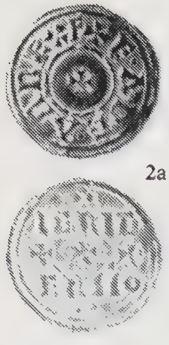
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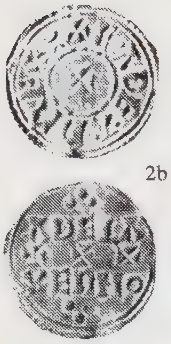
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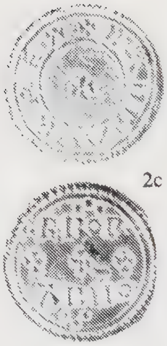
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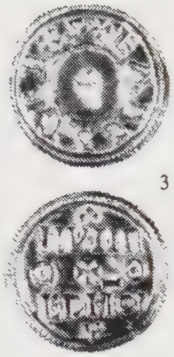
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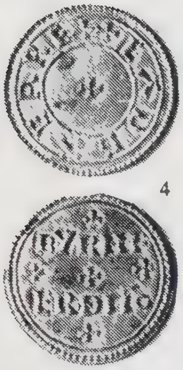
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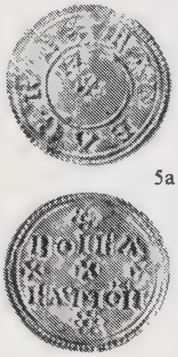
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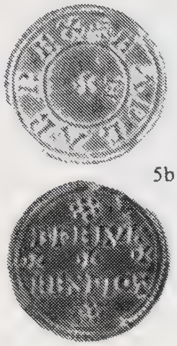
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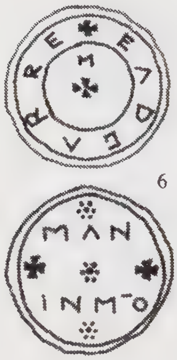

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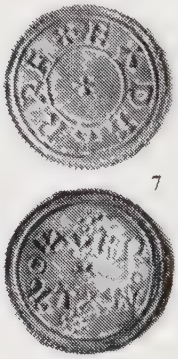
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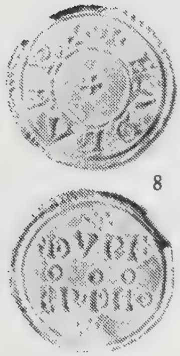
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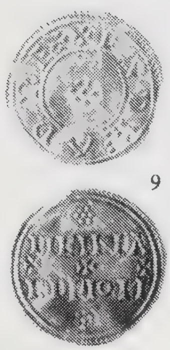
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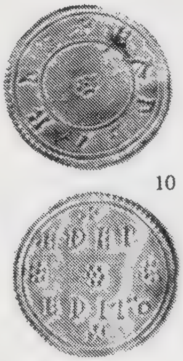
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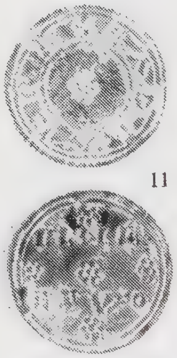
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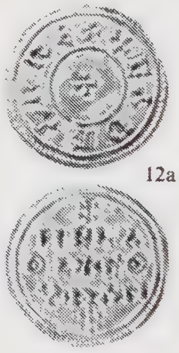
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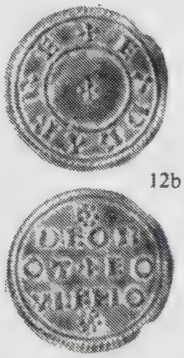
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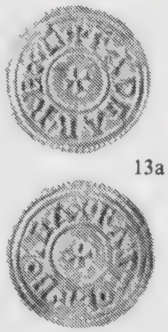
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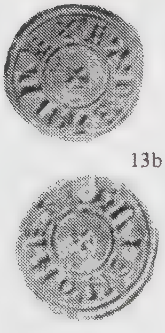
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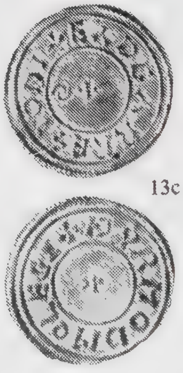
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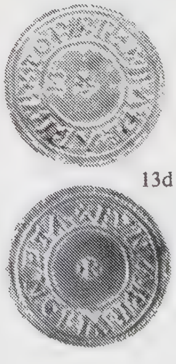
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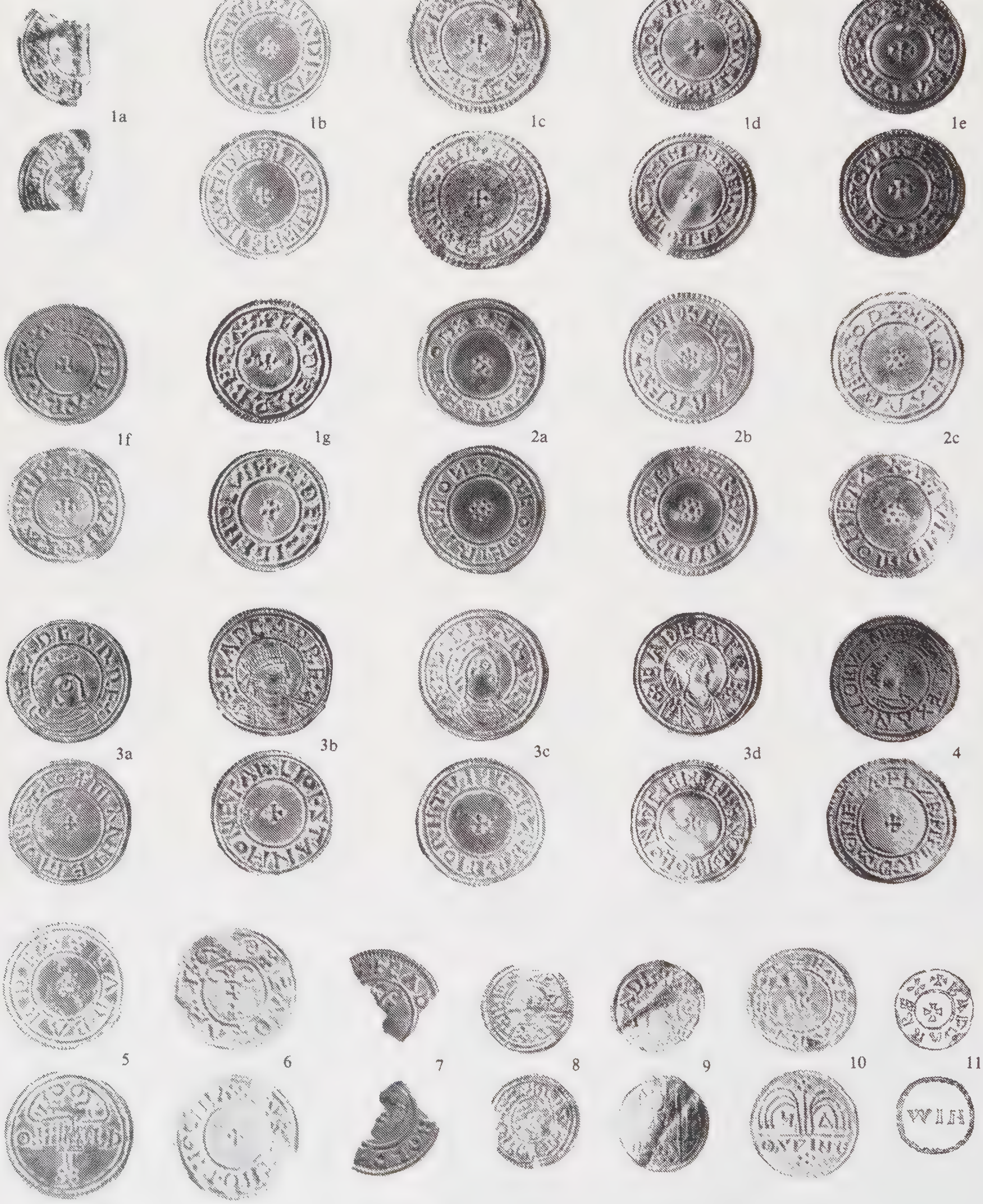
Plate 3.1. Edgar's pre-reform types and varieties. 1-11 – Two-line; 12 – Three-line; 13 – Circumscription Cross.


1a
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11

Plate 3.2. Edgar's pre-reform types and varieties. 1 – Circumscription Cross; 2 – Circumscription Rosette; 3–4 – Crowned Bust; 5 – Cross/ floral; 6 – Floral/cross; 7 – Floral Cross/cross; 8 – Circumscription Cross (halfpenny); 9 – Monogram (halfpenny); 10 – Floral (halfpenny); 11 – Single-line (halfpenny).

Obverse: Crowned bust to the right, inscription along the top.
Reverse: Monogram of mint.

Floral (BMC (XI), CTCE Floral a, Hd –). Plate 3.2:10.
Obverse: Small cross within inscription.
Reverse: Spray of flowers above moneyer's name.

Single-line (BMC (XII), CTCE Exceptional type g, Hd –). Plate 3.2:11.
Obverse: Small cross within inscription.
Reverse: Mint name (between two long crosses?) on one line across field.

Of the Floral type two specimens are known, and one each of the others. The Single-line specimen is now lost, and only known from a drawing and a description [Blunt & Dolley 1953, 135].

3.3. Research history

A thorough analysis of the coinage of Edgar has never been undertaken, but a survey of it has been published and individual types have received comments from time to time.

In the publication of the Smarmore hoard, Blunt remarked that the fact that the Three-line type was absent suggested that it was struck fairly late in the reign [Blunt 1953, 161].

The Three-line type was again subject to comment in connection with the Bangor hoard: the use of rosettes in the design was associated with the coinage of Mercia during Edgar [Dolley 1959B]. At the same time the possibility that the Three-line type was struck after the reform was first voiced publically, it being suggested that it was intended as a trade coin for commerce with the Ostmen.

When the reconstruction of the Dalkey hoard was published two years later, Dolley discussed the Three-line type at length [Dolley 1961A, 16-18]. As a starting point he referred to a comment by Blunt, suggesting that portrait coins were less readily acceptable in certain areas outside England [Blunt 1953, 161]. Dolley then renewed his ideas about the Three-line type being intended for trade with the Ostmen, whom he supposed would not accept the portrait coins of the Reform issue. The Three-line type would thus insure that trade with the Ostmen would not suffer, if it was struck simultaneously with the Reform issue for this particular purpose.

Dolley and Metcalf surveyed the pre-reform coinage of Edgar in connection with their publication of the reform of Edgar [Dolley & Metcalf 1961]. They made a very provisional division of the coinage into three periods [Dolley and Metcalf 1961, table 4], where the dividing line between period two and three was the reform, while the transition from one to two was not given an absolute date. The different types were assigned to different areas as follow:

a) Crowned Bust struck during period one and two; continuously in East Anglia and intermittently in southern England, three regional groups being distinguished.
b) Two-line struck during period one in all of England except in East Anglia. Three regional groups, one southern and two from the north-east, are distinguished. One variety is allocated to the north-west, while two other varieties are regarded as southern (Pellet/three crosses and Cross/three crosses), of which the former was regarded as late, and the latter probably slightly earlier.
c) Circumscription Cross and Circumscription Rosette, struck during period two in all of England except in East Anglia. The latter is found in the north-west, while there are five regional groups of the former: north-west, north-east, Midlands, south-west, and south-east.
d) Three-line type struck in the Chester area after the reform.
e) Reform Small Cross struck in all of England after the reform.

In the section referring to the plates, however, they state that the Two-line type was perhaps struck up to the reform [Dolley & Metcalf 1961, 158, and cf. comment on the Two-line varieties made earlier].

The Three-line type was hence, with reference to the publication of the Dalkey hoard [Dolley 1961A], regarded as contemporary with Reform Small Cross, and not meant to circulate in England.

In a study of the names of the moneyers of Edgar, Blunt listed the known types [Feilitzen & Blunt 1971, 183-5], and among others he noted that there only exist two mint-signed coins of York and none of Lincoln and Stamford in the Circumscription Cross type, although the hoard evidence suggests that a large number of the coins without mint-signature in fact belong to this area.

The survey cited above reflects the views on the coinage up to the early 1970s, after which there follows a long period with hardly anything being published.

In anticipation of the forthcoming study on the coinage of the tenth century (CTCE), which will give an up-to-date account of the views on the coinage, a brief survey of the pre-reform coinage of Edgar, based on CTCE, was included in the Sylloge of the BM collection for this period [Archibald & Blunt 1986, xxii-xxiv]. It can best be summarized as follows:

a) The Two-line-type was struck by some eighty moneyers, and probably a majority of them worked in the Midlands and the north-east, but the difference in style between these and the more southerly moneyers is less clear than in previous reigns, and no attempt is made to distinguish between them. None of the coins display the name of the mint, but three moneyers can confidently be identified as working at York. Chester and Derby, respectively, can primarily be associated with two varieties (Rosette/annulet-cross-annulet, Rosette/three crosses) that are both fairly large. Two varieties (Pellet/three crosses, Cross/three crosses), both small, can be associated with York and the south, respectively.

b) The Three-line type, which hoard evidence shows is late in the reign, was struck at three named mints; Chester, Derby, and Tamworth.

c) In the Circumscription Cross type many mints are rendered on the coins. Together with those that have no mint-signature, they are assigned to various groups, south, south-western, Midlands and Northampton, Tamworth, Weardburh, Derby, north-east, and finally York.

d) The Circumscription Rosette type is regarded as early because a coin is found die-linked with Edwig, and the mints named on the coins are from Chester, Derby, Stafford, and Tamworth, while those without name are confidently attributed to Mercia.

e) The Crowned Bust type, where all of the relatively few mints named on the coins are from the south or south-west. One stylistic group may be attributed to East Anglia.

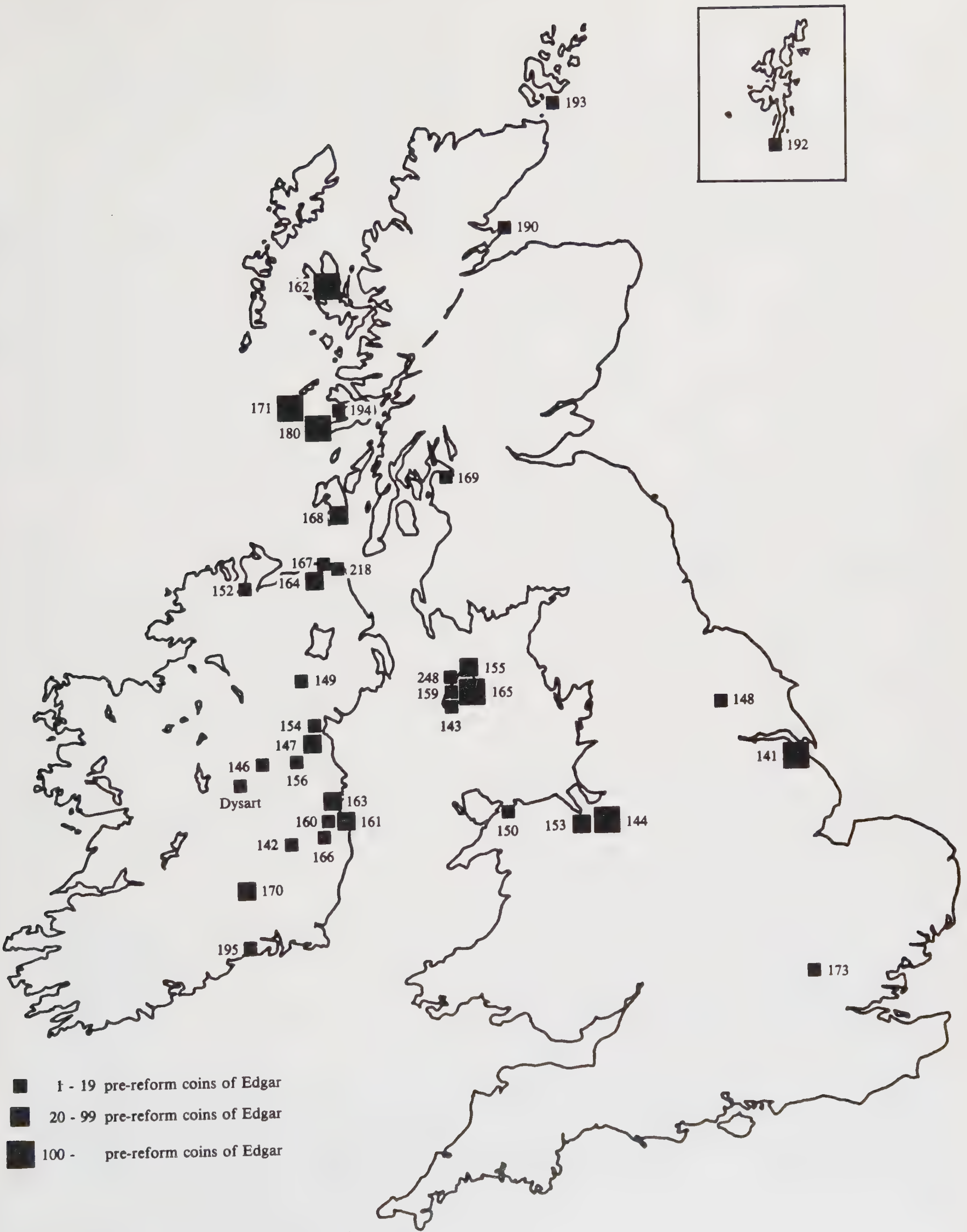
The pattern is not much different from Metcalf and Dolley, with some notable exceptions. CTCE does not attempt to provide a chronology for the individual types but is rather based on grouping the types on a geographical basis, although some remarks concerning the chronology are made. Even though it is not specifically stated the implication of the fact that the Three-line type is included in the Sylloge volume is that it was struck before the reform.

3.4. The hoard evidence

3.4.1 Geographical composition

Dolley and Metcalf listed 28 hoards from the British Isles that included coins of Edgar (24 excluding Reform Small Cross), and the types found in each were indicated [Dolley & Metcalf 1961, 162]. They pointed out how few the hoards were that came from England, and that those that did were confined to the northern part. The evidence of the hoards would therefore be distorted, and a survey of the single finds also indicated this. While the types that dominated in the hoards were not found among the single finds in the south, the types from the single finds in the south were poorly represented in the hoards. Based on this they assumed that the types remained largely separate in their circulation areas. They also suggested that the coinage in the south could well have been as large as that in the north, something which only a hoard from the south would be able to prove [Dolley & Metcalf 1961, 144].

Table 3.1 lists the hoards from the British Isles that contain coins of Edgar struck before the reform. The geographical distribution is shown in fig. 3.1. Of the 39 finds only 5 are from England, while there are 9 from Scotland, 1 from Wales, 5 from the Isle of Man, and no less than 19 from Ireland. Many were found in the 19th century and not properly recorded, or contain so few coins that the conclusions that can be drawn from them are limited. Overall, it is striking to what extent even the non-English hoards, where the circulation of coins was not regulated, are dominated by coins of Edgar. The only exceptions are Lough Lene (which could be explained if it was deposited early in the reign) and Chester, which, as will be shown below, is not typical in other respects as well. In general though, the non-English hoards contain coins from a much longer period of time than those from England. Even taking account of the fact that Edgar had a long reign, the few old coins compared with the high numbers for Edgar could indicate that the export of coins from England to these areas increased substantially during Edgar's reign.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1 - 19 pre-reform coins of Edgar
20 - 99 pre-reform coins of Edgar
100 - pre-reform coins of Edgar

Fig. 3.1. Hoards with pre-reform coins of Edgar.

BI			Ats	Edm	Edr	Edw	Edg	Post Reform	Others	Total
141	Tetney	E	–	–	45	78	294	–	3	420
142	Ballitore	I	4	8	13	3	4	–	6	38
143	Ballaqueeny	M	3	6	13	12	4	–	6	44+
144	Chester 1950	E	50	68	148	114	145	–	18	543
145	Ireland	I	20	3	6	4	6	–	9	48
146	Lough Lene	I	5	3	8	4	2	–	6	28+
147	Smarmore	I	2	6	8	9	41	–	3	72+
148	York	E	–	–	–	–	2	–	–	2
149	Armagh	I	1	–	–	–	1	–	1	3+
150	Bangor	W	–	–	–	–	2	–	–	2+
152	Burt	I	–	–	–	–	11	–	–	11+
153	Chester 1857	E	–	–	5	4	66?	–	–	c. 75
154	Killincoole	I	1	–	3	2	1	–	–	7
155	Kirk Andreas	M	–	–	3	2	12	–	1	c. 100
156	Co. Meath	I	–	–	1	–	1+	–	1	‘some’
159	Ballakilperic	M	–	–	–	–	x	–	–	x
160	Bullock (no. 1)	I	–	–	–	–	3	–	–	3
161	Bullock (no. 2)	I	–	–	–	–	c. 65	–	–	c. 65
162	Skye	S	–	–	–	–	100+?	–	–	c. 200+
163	Dalkey	I	4	6	9	4	43	–	3	69+
164	Derrykeighan	I	2	1	12	8	93	–	2	260/280
165	Ballaquale	M	11	14	44	29	284+	–	9	405+
166	Glendalough	I	–	x	x	x	3+	–	–	‘sm.parc’
167	Ballycastle (no.2)	I	–	–	–	–	x	–	–	x
168	Machrie (Islay)	S	7	3	7	3	86	–	7	113+
169	Port Glasgow	S	–	–	–	–	3??	–	–	?
170	Co. Kilkenny	I	–	–	–	–	57	–	–	57
171	Tiree	S	?	6	10	5	104	–	1	200-400
–	Dysart area	I	–	–	2	1	1	–	–	4
173	Welwyn	E	–	–	–	–	2?	2?	–	4
180	Iona	S	9	14	67	26	222	7	18	363
190	Tarbat	S	–	–	–	–	1	–	12	13
192	Quendale	S	–	–	–	1	4	1	–	8+
193	Burray	S	–	–	–	1	1	3	1	6+
194	Inchkenneth	S	–	–	–	–	10	12	12	c. 100
195	Knockmaon	I	–	–	–	–	4	1	9	14+
218	Ballycastle (no.1)	I	–	–	–	–	1	2	14	c. 300?
248	Kirk Michael	M	–	1	–	–	5	16	57	79
296	?	I	–	–	–	–	4	1	–	5

Table 3.1. Hoards from the British Isles containing coins of Edgar struck before the reform. When the figure for the total is higher than the sum of the reigns it indicates that only a part of the hoard has been documented in detail. BI – the British Isles (numbers refer to list of hoards in Blackburn & Pagan 1986), E – England, I – Ireland, M – Isle of Man, S – Scotland, and W – Wales. Ats – Athelstan, Edm – Edmund, Edr – Edred, Edw – Edwig, and Edg – Edgar.

The number of coins of each type for the pre-reform period in each hoard is shown in table 3.2. Ordinarily it would be no problem to establish a relative, and to some extent also absolute, chronology for the types, in view of the large number of known hoards. However, due to the fact that not all types were struck throughout England, some often being only locally minted, the situation is more complicated. To begin with it must be established to what extent each hoard is locally biassed. This is not as easy to show in a table, as it is dependent on the moneyers represented in each hoard. It is also essential to investigate to what extent it is possible to attribute the moneyers to individual mints (or at least a region) when no mint is rendered on the coin, as mint-signed coins are only found to some extent in certain types. It goes without saying that the hoards from England are the crucial ones when trying to answer these questions. The survey of the hoards will hence start with those from England, followed by those from the other parts of the British Isles.

A) England

The hoard from Tetney (BI 141) in north-eastern England is believed to have been recovered intact. It contains the highest number of coins of a single issue of Edgar in any of the hoards, with 291 specimens of the Trefoil/three crosses variety of the Two-line type. Besides this very large group, there are in the hoard only three other coins of Edgar, all of the Circumscription Cross type (fig. 3.2) [Cf. comment concerning a possible fourth coin in the catalogue of the pre-reform finds]. None of the coins in the hoard have a mint-signature, but the moneyers Durand (2 coins) and Fastulfr (1) in the latter type can both be attributed to York [Archilbald & Blunt 1986, xxiii]. Likewise, in the Two-line group, where there is only the one variety present, three of the moneyers (Æscwulf, Durand, and Hereger) can be attributed to York [Archibald & Blunt 1986, xxiii]. Together the three moneyers account for a total of 119 coins. Another group of prolific moneyers (Adelaver, Eanwulf, Farthegn, Leofing, Ubeinn), all of whom are later known at Lincoln, account for a total of 71 coins. Furthermore the moneyers Albutc (7), Benedictus (16), Grith (7), Ifa (8), Isenberth (10), and Manna (22) are represented in nearly every other hoard, and were no doubt active at Lincoln or Stamford. The fifteen moneyers mentioned above account for no less than 88% of the coins of Edgar in the hoard. Ingolfr (7), probably from Newark as he is there in the Reform issue, also belongs to the area. The evidence of the hoard points to a very concentrated area as the source for the coins. The composition of the hoard is also very sharply delimited chronologically, with only 45 coins of Edred and 78 of Edwig, which means that the Edgar element accounts for as much as 70% of the total (fig. 3.3), in spite of the fact that the hoard must belong to a relatively early part of his reign.

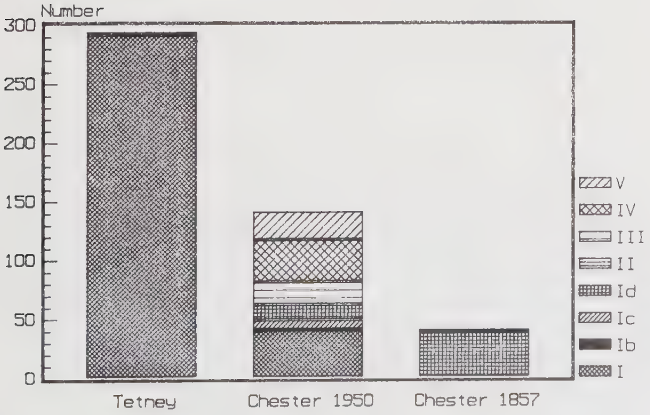


Fig. 3.2. The types of Edgar in the English pre-reform hoards.

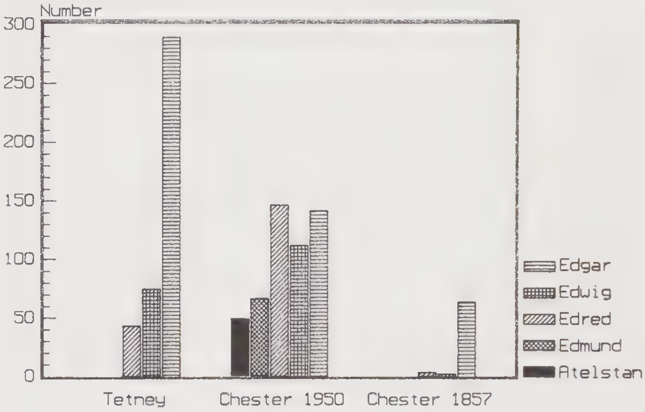


Fig. 3.3. The age structure of the English pre-reform hoards of Edgar.

The 1950 Chester hoard (BI 144) is very well documented, although some coins were dispersed. It contains coins struck during a very long period of time (one coin was minted as early as Alfred (871-99), and the distribution is very even for the last three rulers (Edred, Edwig, and Edgar) (fig. 3.3). The Edgar element with 145 coins make up only 26% of the total, and this low proportion could of course be explained if the hoard was deposited in the beginning of his reign. Such a solution is, however, not possible judging from the types present in the

			Edgar pre-reform							Edgar
BI			I	III		IV	V	II	Others	total
141	Tetney	E	291	3		–	–	–	–	294
142	Ballitore	I	–	–		–	–	–	–	4
143	Ballaqueeny	M	4	–		–	–	–	–	4
144	Chester 1950	E	62	19	(1)	36	25	–	2	145
145	Ireland	I	3	2		1	–	–	–	6
146	Lough Lene	I	–	–		–	1?	–	–	2
147	Smarmore	I	24	14	(1)	2	–	–	–	41
148	York	E	2	–		–	–	–	–	2
149	Armagh	I	–	–		–	–	–	–	1+
150	Bangor	W	2+	–		–	–	–	–	2+
152	Burt	I	9	2		–	–	–	–	11+
153	Chester 1857	E	64?	–		1	–	1	–	66?
154	Killincoole	I	1?	–		–	–	–	–	1
155	Kirk Andreas	M	5	6		–	–	1	–	c. 65
156	Co. Meath	I	–	–		–	1	–	–	'some'
159	Ballakilperic	M	–	–		–	–	–	–	x
160	Bullock (no. 1)	I	2	1		–	–	–	–	3
161	Bullock (no. 2)	I	x	x		–	–	–	–	c. 65
162	Skye	S	–	–		–	–	–	–	100+?
163	Dalkey	I	24	8		4	1	6	–	43
164	Derrykeighan	I	76	10		1	–	6	–	93
165	Ballaquale	M	166	52	(1)	8	3	14	1	284+
166	Glendalough	I	x	2		–	–	1	–	'sm.parc'
167	Ballycastle (no. 2)	I	–	–		–	–	–	–	x
168	Machrie (Islay)	S	46	16		2	3	19	–	86+
169	Port Glasgow	S	2??	–		–	–	1??	–	?
170	Co. Kilkenny	I	27	4		2	1	7	2?	c. 60
171	Tiree	S	69	23		3	1	8	–	175-350
–	Dysart area	I	–	–		–	–	–	–	1
173	Welwyn	E	–	–		–	–	2?	–	2
180	Iona	S	154	48	(2)	3	2	11	2	222
190	Tarbat	S	–	–		–	–	1	–	1
192	Quendale	S	4	–		–	–	–	–	4
193	Burray	S	1	–		–	–	–	–	1
194	Inchkenneth	S	6	4		–	–	–	–	10+
195	Knockmaon	I	4?	–		–	–	–	–	4
218	Ballycastle (no. 1)	I	–	–		–	–	–	–	1+
248	Kirk Michael	M	3	2		–	–	–	–	5
296	?	I	4	–		–	–	–	–	4

Table 3.2. The pre-reform types of Edgar represented in the hoards from the British Isles. The figure for the total is higher than the sum of the types combined when only a part of the hoard has been documented in detail. When only a figure for the total is recorded, the numbers for individual type(s) are not known. When it is known or likely that there were more coins in a hoard it is indicated with a plus sign. A figure within parenthesis placed between two types indicate mules. BI – the British Isles (numbers refer to list of hoards in – Ireland, M – Isle of Man, S – Scotland, and W – Wales. BMC II is listed at the end in order to indicate a chronological order.

hoard, some of which cannot belong to the beginning of the reign. All the major pre-reform types of Edgar, save Three-line, are present and their respective numbers are surprisingly even (fig.3.2). The varieties of the Two-line type, which is the largest group with 62 coins (table 3.4), can be broken down into 33 of the Trefoil/three crosses variety struck by north-eastern moneyers (17 at York), 21 of the Rosette/three crosses and Rosette/annulet-cross-annulet varieties struck by moneyers in the north-west. There remains 7 struck by moneyers more to the south. Of the 19 coins of the Circumscription Cross type 9 belong to the northwest, and the remaining ones to the southern Midlands and the south, while not a single one belongs to the otherwise very prolific York series [The absence of coins of the moneyers Fastulfr and Herewulf was noted by Blunt & Dolley 1953, 133-4]. Among the Circumscription Rosette coins nearly all 36 are from the north-west (Chester, Derby, and Tamworth). The sizeable Crowned Bust element with no less than 25 specimens (constituting about a fourth of the total known pennies of the type), seems to cover all areas (East Anglia, south-east Midlands, and the south) where it was struck, but not a single mint-signed coin of London is present with the exception of the unique Monogram halfpenny. The Chester hoard does not give the impression of being withdrawn from circulation at one location at one time but rather indicates a savings hoard. The regional distribution is strange to say the least although about 45% of the coins were struck at Chester or other nearby mints (Derby and Tamworth), and it is hard to imagine that the coins of Edgar were collected locally. Not least the Crowned Bust coins must indicate a parcel collected much closer to the south. When this suggested parcel (or parcels) from the south was added is hard to tell because there are no comparable hoards, but it would seem to cover a period equal to that of the coins from the north-west. It may also be connected with the large number of coins in the hoard which are struck in the south-east Midlands. The whole composition of the hoard seems so different from what would be expected that, although its composition is fascinating, care must be advised when trying to interpret it.

The two coins present in the small find from York (BI 148) both lack mint-signatures, but they were probably struck at Lincoln (Eanwulf) and Stamford (Manna), i.e. at local north-eastern mints. They indicate that the circulation of coins in the area was active, but the find is too small to allow more detailed interpretation.

The information about the coins that have been associated with a hoard from Kent (BI 151), must be based on the single published coin and the coins of the period that were present in a private collection [Christmas sale Sotheby 1.2.1864]. This information, however, does not lend support to the suggestion that they were found in Kent (or any other part of southern England). On the contrary they suggest a find spot in the northern part of England or somewhere on the British Isles outside England. It is not possible to decide whether they are to be connected with a hoard already known from these parts, or if the coins represent a hoard not published elsewhere. In view of the circumstances this alleged hoard is not discussed here any further.

The Chester hoard found in 1857 (BI 153) is not as well recorded as Tetney and Chester 1950, as most of the coins were stolen before a detailed publication had been made. The number of coins in the hoard was between 70 and 80, and the original brief record and a large parcel with 43 coins in the Grosvenor Museum at Chester allow an analysis to be made. The composition is quite different from the hoard found in 1950, although their dates of deposit are probably not far apart. To begin with 88% of the coins in the Chester 1857 hoard are from Edgar, and none is older than Edred (fig. 3.3). Of the preserved pennies from Edgar, one is of the Circumscription Rosette type (no doubt from Chester), while all the others belong to the Rosette/annulet-cross-annulet variety of the Two-line type (fig. 3.2). There was also at least one coin of the Three-line type from Chester among the coins that were stolen. Among the preserved specimens of the Two-line variety, 31 were struck by ten moneyers (Ælfrœd, Ælfsige, Eadmund, Ealdwine, Freothuric, Gillys, Iorothr, Martin, Teothic, and Thormothr), all of whom are later recorded at Chester, 2 by one moneyer (Deorwulf) who is later known at Tamworth, while the mint(s) of 5 coins struck by three moneyers (Ealhmund, Hrodulf, and Wœrstan) is uncertain, but may well be Chester, as well. There is no reason to believe that the pattern which the parcel with the surviving 43 coins represents was much different from that of the rest of the hoard. Not a single coin of Edgar can be associated with the north-east. The geographical concentration here, where at least 82% of the known coins of Edgar can be associated with a mint at Chester, is just as obvious as in the Tetney hoard. In the original hoard there were probably not more than a total of nine coins from Edred and Edwig which would leave c. 88% of the coins to Edgar. In this respect too, the similarity between the hoards from Tetney and Chester 1857 is striking.

The small hoard from Welwyn (BI 173), north of London, was deposited after the reform. What it does prove is that the Three-line type did circulate in England. Further conclusions are better made below in the analysis of the post-reform period.

This completes the coverage of the English hoards, of which only three allow conclusions to be made. The Tetney and the

Chester 1857 hoard both indicate that the circulation of coins was very restricted from a geographical point of view. They also suggest that coins tended to be removed from circulation fairly rapidly, as those that are more than about 10 years old only constitute a small portion of the coins in each of the hoards. This of course raises a number of interesting questions. Why was the turnover so rapid although the circulation was so restricted? What was the purpose of striking new regional types? Is it possible that recoinages on a regional basis were taking place? If not, is the swift turnover of coins a result of a progressive debasement of the coinage in this part of the country, when the older coins of better silver were forced out of circulation?

The Chester 1950 hoard is obviously in conflict with these interpretations, but only if its composition can be regarded as normal, and there are, as shown above, a number of indications that it was not. Otherwise the only alternative which remains is that the composition of both the Tetney and Chester 1857 hoards is not normal. It is, however, hard to explain how this could have been achieved, unless both owners were very selective when they decided which coins to deposit. It is of course always possible to argue that the truth lies somewhere in the middle, which would perhaps not have been difficult to accept, if the differences between the Chester 1950 hoard and the other two hoards had not been as extreme and pronounced as they in fact are. The hoards from the other parts of the British Isles also indicate that the composition of the Chester 1950 hoard was not normal. The final conclusion must thus be that the hoards from Tetney and Chester 1857 reflect the coins in circulation in their respective areas, while the Chester 1950 hoard does not.

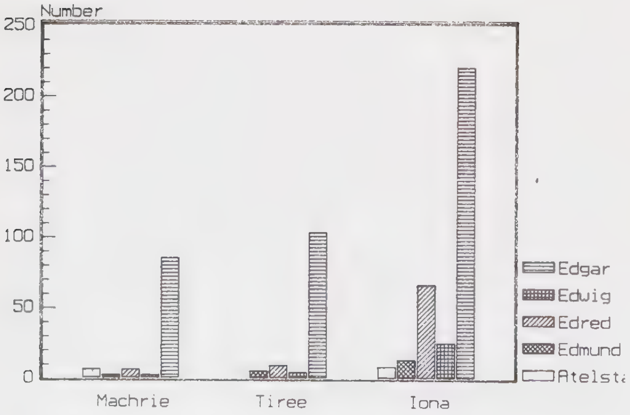


Fig. 3.4. The age structure of the Scottish pre-reform hoards of Edgar.

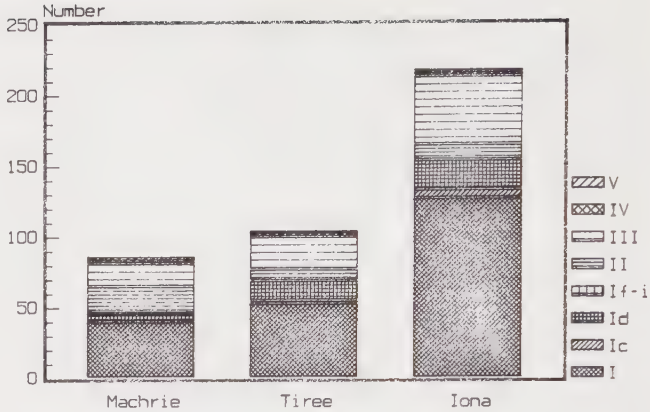


Fig. 3.5. The types of Edgar in the Scottish pre-reform hoards.

B) Scotland

The non-English hoards can of course each represent one or several parcels withdrawn from circulation from one or several areas within or outside England. The prospect of using them to judge the composition of coins in local circulation in England is hence very limited. There are, however, some affinities between individual hoards and the hoards found in England. Also, if their collective composition is homogeneous, they can serve as a clear indication of the coin circulation in some parts of England. The age structure and typological composition of the hoards are shown in figs. 3.4 – 3.5.

In the Iona hoard (BI 180) from Scotland, the Edgar element shows clear resemblance with Tetney and indicates a (contemporaneous) parcel, probably collected in Lincolnshire, as well as one from a later date. The latter is (disregarding 2 coins from Lincolnshire) represented by the large element of the Circumscription Cross type that can be attributed to York, and which accounts for 42 out of the 48 coins of the type. There are also one or two parcels from the north-west, and here the composition suggests a later date for the Iona parcel as compared with the Chester 1857 hoard. The few specimens from the south-east Midlands and the south (only 4 coins) could represent the unavoidable issues from outside the two areas. The Iona hoard in other words gives a good indication that the coin stock in the north was very restricted even at some time later than the one(s) represented by Tetney and Chester 1857.

In the Machrie hoard (BI 168) the known Edgar element consists of 86 coins. The north-western and north-eastern coins struck by moneyers represented in the Tetney and Chester 1857 hoards are comparatively fewer. This is also true for the ones from the same areas that are found in the Iona hoard, while other moneyers in the hoard (from the north-west) are strong. The only coins from outside the two northern areas are two from Bedford, one from London, and one of uncertain provenance. Here too, the connection with the north is strong, and the coins from other areas are very few, even if the early stage is not as well represented as in the Iona hoard.

Of the coins of Edgar once in the Tiree hoard (BI 171), a total of 104 are known today. Here the north-western and north-eastern parts corresponding to Tetney and Chester 1857 on the one hand, and on the other the addition found in Iona, are of relatively equal size. The latest element in the hoard corresponds to Machrie, but it is comparatively smaller here. Coins struck outside the north are only a handful here as well.

The Inchkenneth hoard (BI 194) was deposited after the reform, and contains ten coins of Edgar, all struck in the north-east. As no other area is represented, they too confirm the restricted circulation in north-eastern England.

The remainder of the Scottish hoards are too small or too poorly documented to yield additional information [For a possible parcel of coins from the Skye hoard – BI 162, see comment in the catalogue of the pre-reform hoards].

C) Wales

From the sole hoard in Wales, found at Bangor (BI 150) in the north-west, only two coins have been recorded, but both are of the (nearby) Chester variety of Two-line also found at Chester 1857. Other specimens of the same type are said to have been found at the same place earlier [Dykes 1976, 17. Cf comments in the catalogue of the pre-reform hoards for the possibility of three more coins from the hoard]. Although apparently subsequently dispersed, the tiny parcel which is documented corroborates the composition of the coins in circulation in the north-west, as indicated by the Chester 1857 hoard.

D) Isle of Man

Of the five hoards from the Isle of Man, only Ballaquale (BI 165) is large enough to allow an analysis (fig. 3.6). As regards the coins of Edgar it is strong both in the north-west and the north-east for the part corresponding to Tetney and Chester 1857, the same being true for the part corresponding to the addition found in Machrie (fig. 3.7). One difference, however, is that the south Midlands and southern element is larger (although still small) than in the other hoards. This is probably not due to an increased infiltration into the north in the latest phase represented in the hoard, because that would have been visible in the other hoards as well. The difference is more likely to be due to direct contacts with the south. After the reform, a general shift from the north to the south of England can be seen, as regards the coin export from England to other parts of the British Isles. The actual transition would seem to correspond to a period with a very low level of coin export, following which the shift is evident, but Ballaquale may perhaps be seen as foreboding this shift.

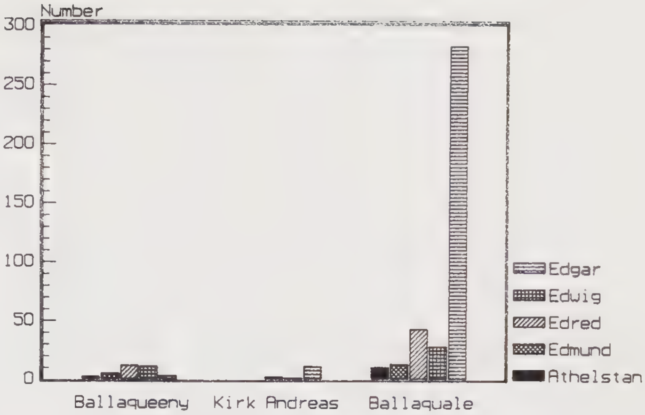


Fig. 3.6. The age structure of the pre-reform hoards of Edgar from the Isle of Man.

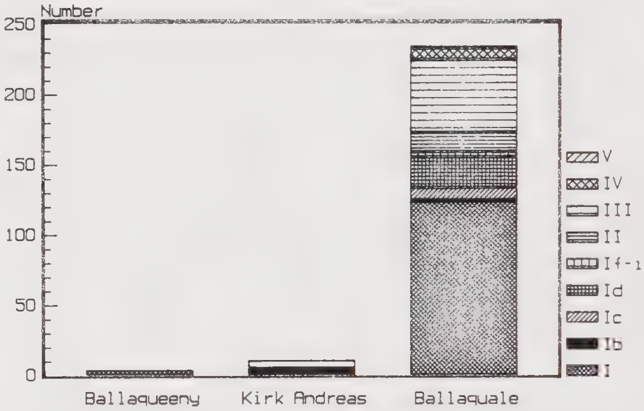


Fig. 3.7. The types of Edgar in the pre-reform hoards from the Isle of Man.

E) Ireland

This leaves only the Irish hoards, of which many are also small or poorly recorded. Some, however, are of interest. The age

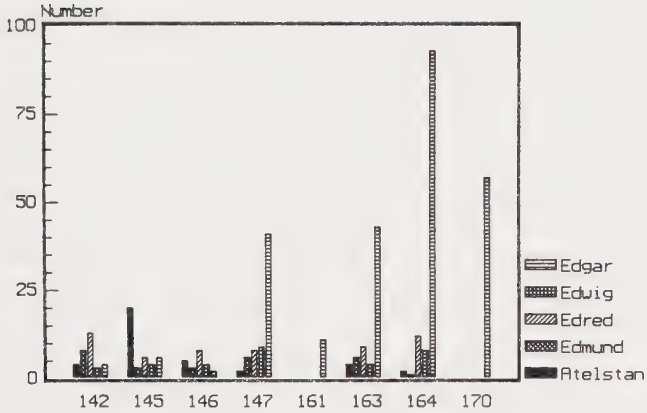


Fig. 3.8. The age structure of the Irish pre-reform hoards of Edgar.

structure and typological composition of the hoards are shown in figs. 3.8 – 3.9.

In the hoard from Smarmore (BI 147) the Edgar element is dominated by coins from the north-east, while the north-western part is small and the southern coins are very few. If only one parcel, collected in the north-east, was involved, it could of course be interpreted as reflecting infiltration from the north-west, and indicate an increased mixing of coins in the area. It is, however, much more likely that more than one parcel is involved, of which one or more small ones are from the north-west.

Only nine coins in the hoard from Burt (BI 152) are attributed, but all are confined to the north-east.

The Dalkey hoard (BI 163) is not large and there are only 43 coins of Edgar. Its composition is comparable to Ballaquale except that the coins struck outside the north are at best just a few.

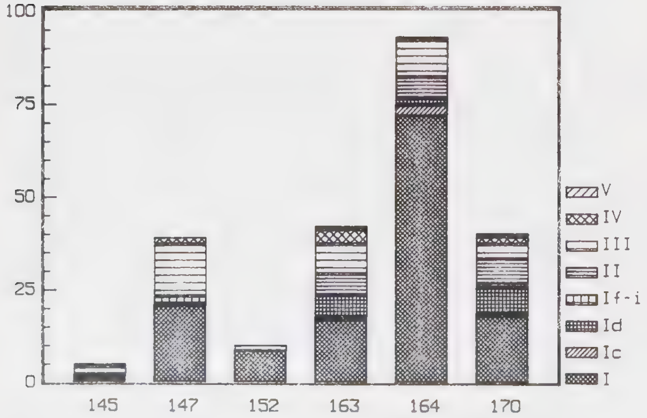


Fig. 3.9. The types of Edgar in the Irish pre-reform hoards.

The part of the Edgar coins found at Derrykeighan (BI 164) that are known today are best compared with the Tiree hoard, except that here the north-east dominates and the north-west is much weaker.

In conclusion the evidence of the English and non-English hoards as regards their geographical composition shows a massive concentration to the north. They also show that the circulation of coins in the north was restricted in both the north-west and the north-east in the first half of the period. For the later phases we are much dependent on the non-English hoards. Their evidence must be interpretated as the status quo in the two areas, as the mix of north-western and north-eastern coins in these hoards no doubt took place outside England.

3.4.2 Types and local varieties

A) General

With the geographical composition of the hoards in mind, it is now possible to attempt an analysis of their composition in more detail, in order to try to establish a relative and absolute chronology for the individual types. Even in the previous section it was apparent that horizons may be established in the material by comparing the presence or absence of types and moneyers in the individual hoards. It was also made vividly clear that 'It should not be a matter of surprise ... that the British hoards give a distorted view of Eadgar's coinage' [Dolley & Metcalf 1961, 141]. This distortion has of course effects on the prospects of establishing a correct chronology for the southern issues. It has further led to different interpretations of the situation in the south.

Much of the present analysis of the typological chronology is based on three sorted lists of the contents of the hoards (see section 8.2). The first is listed by hoards, the second by types and the third by moneyers.

In the section below the geographical and chronological distributions of the types are analysed one by one. England is divided into a number of areas (fig. 3.13.). In each area the chronology for the pre-reform coinage is divided into three phases. This is done in order to facilitate comparisons between the developments over time in the different regions. Although each phase is intended to cover approximately the same period in absolute terms in the different areas, differences (which sometimes are significant) are unavoidable, because the decisive changes did not occur at the same time in different areas.

Table 3.3 gives a summary of the number of coins of each type and variety in all the hoards from the British Isles. It shows that the recorded number of coins from the hoards correspond to c. 75% of the surviving coins. It is clear that just a small number of types and varieties are very dominant, a majority being known from a mere half a dozen coins or less.

Two-line (cross)			
Pellet/three crosses	Ia	0	(5)
Trefoil/three crosses	I	851	(1,000)
Trefoil/annulet-cross-annulet	I(h)	1	(1)
Cross/three crosses	Ib	2	(4)
Rosette/three crosses	Ic	32	(75)
Rosette/cross-rosette-cross	I(j)	0	(1)
Rosette/annulet-cross-annulet	Id	162	(175)
Rosette/three annulets	Ie	0	(3)
Two-line (rosette)			
Rosette/three crosses	I(i)	1	(4)
Cross/three rosettes	Ig	4	(6)
Rosette/three rosettes	If	3	(6)
Three-line	II	75	(125)
Circumscription Cross	III	216	(350)
Circumscription Rosette	IV	63	(125)
Crowned Bust	V	37	(100)
Circular	V(c)	1	(3)
Cross/Floral	(VII)	0	(2)
Floral/cross	(VIII)	1	(1)
Floral cross/cross	(VIIIa)	1	(1)
Halfpennies			
Circumscription Cross	(IX)	0	(1)
Monogram	(X)	1	(1)
Floral	(XI)	1	(2)
Single-line	(XII)	0	(1)
Total		1,452	(c. 2,000)

Table 3.3. The number of coins of the different types and varieties (excluding mules) found in the hoards. Estimated figures for the total number of surviving coins are given within parenthesis. Based on the estimated total figures for all hoards the number of coins of Edgar in the hoards would probably be in the neighbourhood of 2,000, a large number of which probably disintegrated at the time of discovery.

B) The Two-line varieties

There are eleven varieties of the Two-line type. All are listed in table 3.4 which shows the ones that are represented in each hoard.

BI			I	Ia	Ib	Ic	Id	Ie	If	Ig	Ih	Ii	Ij
141	Tetney	E	291	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
143	Ballaqueeny	M	4	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
144	Chester 1950	E	40	–	1	8	13	–	–	–	–	–	–
145	Ireland	I	1	–	–	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	–
147	Smarmore	I	21	–	–	–	1	–	–	1	1	–	–
148	York	E	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
150	Bangor	W	–	–	–	–	2+	–	–	–	–	–	–
152	Burt	I	9	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
153	Chester 1857	E	–	–	–	–	38+	–	–	–	–	–	–
154	Killincoole	I	–	–	–	– 1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
155	Kirk Andreas	M	3	–	–	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	–
160	Bullock (no.1)	I	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
163	Dalkey	I	17	–	–	1	6	–	–	–	–	–	–
164	Derrykeighan	I	72	–	–	3	2	–	–	–	–	–	–
165	Ballaquale	M	129	–	1	9	22	–	3	1	–	1	–
168	Machrie	S	40	–	–	–	5	–	–	1	–	–	–
169	Port Glasgow	S	2?	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
170	Co. Kilkenny	I	18	–	–	1	7	–	–	1	–	–	–
171	Tiree	S	53	–	–	2	14	–	–	–	–	–	–
180	Iona	S	127	–	–	6	21	–	–	–	–	–	–
192	Quendale	S	4	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
193	Burray	S	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
194	Inchkenneth	S	6	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
195	Knockmaon	I	3	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–
248	Kirk Michael	M	3	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
296	?	I	3	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Total			851	0	2	32 1	135+	0	3	4	1	1	0

Table 3.4. The hoard distribution of the varieties of the Two-line type. A figure between two varieties indicates that the attribution is uncertain and could be either of the two varieties.

a) Northumbria and the north-east (Trefoil/three crosses)

It is convenient to begin with the Trefoil/three crosses variety in the north-east, where the Tetney hoard (BI 141) must be the starting-point. There are three moneyers (Æscwulf, Durand, and Hereger), who have been attributed to York [Archibald & Blunt 1986, xxiii]. Their coins are all present in large numbers in Tetney, as are those struck in the name of Edwig. In consequence they must represent the first phase there during Edgar's reign (plate 3.1:2a).

This leaves an additional 31 moneyers, active at mints other than York, of the type present in the hoard. With the exception of the moneyer Ingalbert, all are also found in other (later) hoards. If the moneyers are listed according to the number of hoards in which they occur, and the total number of specimens represented, the following summary can be made.

5 moneyers	–	2 hoards	–	13 specimens
4 moneyers	–	3 hoards	–	17 specimens
4 moneyers	–	4 hoards	–	21 specimens
4 moneyers	–	5 hoards	–	42 specimens
2 moneyers	–	6 hoards	–	27 specimens
1 moneyer	–	7 hoards	–	12 specimens
1 moneyer	–	8 hoards	–	19 specimens
1 moneyers	–	9 hoards	–	15 specimens
2 moneyer	–	10 hoards	–	69 specimens
2 moneyers	–	11 hoards	–	121 specimens
3 moneyers	–	12 hoards	–	145 specimens
1 moneyer	–	13 hoards	–	37 specimens

If the coins in the Tetney hoard had been struck over a large area of England it would have been impossible to achieve this homogeneous pattern. It is an illustration of how geographically confined the composition of the hoard is. The coins in the Tetney hoard that were struck by these moneyers represent phase one in the north-east south of the Humber (plate 3.1:2b).

The coin of the moneyer Ingalbert has a blundered obverse reading 'EADGDRE', and the same die is also used by the moneyer Eoforwulf [Archibald & Blunt 1986, no. 937 and 907]. The style is common on coins of Athelstan to Edwig [Archibald & Blunt 1986, xv] , but would seem misplaced as late as the reign of Edgar if it were not for a sole coin of the same Two-line variety by the moneyer Æscman, which appears to read 'EADGARRE' [Stevenson 1966, no. 375]. It may be that all or some of the coins of this style that have been attributed to Edgar are in fact imitations.

In the other hoards combined (excluding Tetney), there are 27 further moneyers recorded for the Trefoil/three crosses variety, and the number of hoards that each are present in are as follow:

12 moneyers	–	1 hoard	–	16 specimens
8 moneyers	–	2 hoards	–	18 specimens
2 moneyers	–	3 hoards	–	7 specimens
1 moneyer	–	4 hoards	–	6 specimens
2 moneyers	–	5 hoards	–	11 specimens
2 moneyers	–	6 hoards	–	16 specimens

Moneyers who are only present in one hoard could have had a short career, unless it was confined to a late part of the reign, or they probably worked at small mints. Therefore it would have been left to chance if they were present in Tetney or not. Those working in the south would also be poorly represented, and 6 moneyers (each found in one hoard only) probably belong to this group. Those found in two hoards or more are likely to be working in the north-east and hence can be used for trying to establish a relative chronology. The number of specimens is of course also of importance. There is furthermore the possibility that the name of a moneyer may represent two or more persons working at different mints.

In connection with the Chester 1950 hoard (BI 144) in the previous section, it was noted that the prolific Circumscription Cross issue struck at York was not present (while there were three specimens in the Tetney hoard). Of the moneyers of the Two-line variety found in Tetney, coins of an additional four moneyers were found in Chester. This must suggest that these four moneyers belong to a period that is not later than the one represented by Tetney (phase one), or that they did not work in the north-east. Three of them (Ælfsige, Brother, and Grimr) probably belong to the south-east Midlands (see below), which leaves one moneyer, Beornwulf, for the north-east. 'BIRIIUII' in the Tiree hoard (BI 171) is probably a blundered form of Beornwulf, and it is the only other hoard where he is represented. The fact that this second phase of the coinage at York as well as in the remaining part of the north-east was virtually altogether absent in the Chester 1950 hoard shows that the Tetney and the Chester 1950 hoards were deposited at about the same time.

The beginning of the second phase (table 3.5) in the north-east south of the Humber is – in the absence of late coins from the north-east in Chester 1950 – probably best represented by Smarmore (BI 147), when the moneyers Asfrith and Hunrœd begin to strike coins, the latter though on a modest (or short) basis [During Edred 946-55 a moneyer named Hunrœd is very prolific in the north-east, but he cannot be the same individual unless he took a break in his career]. They are followed by Æthelsige and Cnapa, both found in Dalkey (BI 163), and are later joined by a score of moneyers (Adelger, Aden, Beorhtferth, Cawelin, Farman, Lenna, Ogeman, and Riculf) and represented by the hoards from Ballaquale (BI 165), Derrykeighan (BI 164), Machrie (BI 168), and Co. Kilkenny (BI 170). The end of the second phase introduces Ælfweald and Gundfrid, and the connected hoards are here Iona (BI 180) and Tiree (BI 171). It is also not unlikely that all or part of a group of moneyers, known from one hoard only, but where the hoard belongs to the second phase, should be added to the ones already mentioned, viz. Æthelhelm (Ballaquale – BI 165), Ana – unless blundered for Manna (Ballaquale – BI 165), Andreas (Co. Kilkenny – BI 170), Fugolta (Iona – BI 180), Hildulfr? (Ballaquale – BI 165), Randwin (Iona – BI 180), Smala (Iona – BI 180), and Wynstan (Iona – BI 180) [Wynstan seems to be a better interpretation of '+RISTAN' than Cristin, cf. Dolley 1967C, 40, since he is only known from the late Iona hoard]. The very detailed chronology for the moneyers indicated here is of course not as precise as the survey would indicate. It must be borne in mind that in an analysis of this kind the presence or absence of every single moneyer will be decisive for the result. At the same time the composition of each hoard is far from as logical as would have been required for this purpose. However, in broad terms the survey is believed to give an accurate picture of the development taking place in the north-east, south of the Humber. It must also be emphasized that the majority of the moneyers active in the first phase no doubt also continued to operate in the second. Five further moneyers (Æthelweard, Æthelwulf, Hilda, Landferth, and Reinard) all lack hoard provenances, but must belong to either phase one or two.

The Trefoil/annulet-cross-annulet variety struck by the moneyer Hunrœd, is included above, and would seem to belong to the beginning of the second phase (plate 3.1:3). It was obviously inspired by another variety of the Two-line type struck further to the west. As it is only known from a single specimen (Smarmore – BI 147) [Blunt 1953, no. 52], although the area is extremely well covered in the hoards, it really does not indicate a true variety, but rather represents an odd local achievement.

BI	147	152	155	163	164	165	168	170	171	180	194	296
Adelgar	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	1	–	–	–
Aden	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	1	1	–	–	–
Ælfweald	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	1	–
Æthelhelm	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–
Æthelsige	–	–	–	1	1	3	–	–	1	–	–	–
Ana	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–
Andreas	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–
Asfrith	1	1	–	1	–	3	–	1	1	–	–	–
Beorhtferth	–	–	–	–	2	1	1	–	1	–	–	1
Cawelin	–	–	–	–	1	1	1	–	1	1	–	–
Cnapa	–	–	1	1	2	2	–	1	–	1	–	–
Farman	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	1	2	–	–
Fugolta	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–
Gundfrid	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	–	–
Hilda	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Hildulfr	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–
Hunrœd	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–
Landferth	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Lenna	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	1	–	–	–
Ogeman	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	–	1	–	–	–
Randwin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–
Reinard	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Riculf	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	2	–	–	–
Smala	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–
Wynstan	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–
Total	2	1	1	3	6	19	3	5	13	9	1	1

Table 3.5. The moneyers who started their activity during phase two in the north-east south of the Humber, and the hoards in which their coins are found.

b) Northumbria (Pellet/three crosses)

In the third phase in the north-east, the available information is very incomplete. The Trefoil/three crosses variety would seem to cease to be struck south of the Humber, while the Two-line type was reintroduced in Northumbria (York), in the shape of the Pellet/three crosses variety (plate 3.1:1). In line with the practise for all varieties of the Two-line type, this variety at York does not give the mint. It has previously been regarded as southern [Dolley & Metcalf 1961, 159; Feilitzen & Blunt 1971, 184], but is now recognized as having been struck at York [Archibald and Blunt 1986, xxiii], where the moneyers are all known in later stages. The five moneyers, of which four are not known at York before this third phase, are each recorded from a single surviving specimen. The fact that one of them was included among the four pre-reform coins of Edgar published in Hd has attracted comment before [Metcalf & Dolley 1961, 159]. It has since been possible to establish that this particular coin was found on Gotland [L. Rone, Lye par. – G 4], and in fact one further specimen has been found in Scandinavia [Klostermarken, Aalborg, Denmark – DS 11, Galster 1964, no. 814].

It is very hard to estimate the length of this final phase before the reform. The few surviving coins would of course lead one to suggest that it was very brief, as also their complete absence in all recorded hoards would indicate. The two aspects are, however, connected, and should the rate at which hoards on the British Isles were being deposited slow down and even come to a halt, the effect would of course be that very few (or no) such coins would be known today. It has long been appreciated that coins of the Reform issue are very scarce indeed in hoards from the British Isles deposited outside England [Dolley and Metcalf 1961, 141]. No hoard would seem to have been deposited while it was current, and even in the period represented by the Hand types of Æthelred II very few hoards have been found. The crucial question is then of course exactly when the number of deposits, and the number of coins that were imported to these areas, reached this very low level. The reform would no doubt seem to be a natural and logical turning point – if for nothing else, it is possible to see a change in the pattern of the whole coinage in England then, and one change could lead to another. The simple solutions, on the other hand, are seldom the ones that survive the test of time. There are other indications that suggest that the turning point occurred some time before the reform (see section 3.7.3). The fact that four of the moneyers at York are not active there before, and that each coin is unique, also indicate that a period of some length is involved. The production must have been much higher than the few survivors bear witness to. Of the pre-reform coins of Edgar that have been found in Scandinavia, two out of five belong to this variety, which must suggest a coinage of some substance; otherwise it would be difficult to explain how the other types could be represented by so few specimens. If the comparison is limited to coins struck in the north-east, the variety accounts for two out of four coins. The ultimate solution to the question must, however, await further evidence, and the length of the issue will perhaps turn out to be neither long nor short but something in between, covering some two to three years.

c) North-west I (Rosette/annulet-cross-annulet)

The next area to analyse is the north-west. It is dominated by the large, and sometimes very large, mint at Chester and the much smaller but still important mint at Derby, as well as the mint at Tamworth. As particularly Chester moneyers are known from mint-signed coins from the middle and late part of the reign as well as from post-reform coins, it is possible to attribute many of the otherwise anonymous moneyers to one of these three mints. The Trefoil/three crosses variety known from the north-east was not struck at all in the north-west, although there are some moneyers known to strike both the north- eastern and one of the north-western varieties. They must, however, either represent different moneyers with the same name, or the fact that the moneyer has moved from one area to the other. Otherwise it would be almost impossible to explain, as the two areas did not belong to the same monetary region (see section 3.7.2).

As has previously been noted [Archibald & Blunt 1986, xxiii] the Rosette/annulet-cross-annulet variety can be associated with Chester (to the west), while the Rosette/three crosses variety can be associated with Derby (to the east). The former area is here termed North-west I, and the latter (including Tamworth) North-west II.

For the Rosette/annulet-cross-annulet variety (table 3.6) the analysis must begin with Chester (North-west I) and the Chester 1857 hoard (plate 3.1:7). This variety completely dominates the hoard, and may comprise as much as 85% of the total number of coins. The remaining coins of Edgar were confined to one (or more?) coin each of the Circumscription Rosette type and of the Three-line type. It is clear that the Three-line type was struck later than the other two types, as it is absent in the hoards from Chester 1950 (BI 144) and Smarmore (BI 147), which otherwise cover the north-west. The hoards cannot, however, provide conclusive evidence for the relative chronological order of the Two-line variety and of the Circumscription Rosette type in the area, as they are both present in all the early hoards (see below for the position of Circumscription Cross). In the individual hoards the respective number of coins for the two types is as follows:

BI	144	145	147	153	163	164	165	168	170	171	180
Two-line (Id)	13	1	1	38	6	2	22	5	7	14	21
Circum. Rosette (IV)	36	1	2	1	4	1	8	2	2	3	3

Among the first three hoards the Circumscription Rosette type is either dominant or on a par with the Two-line variety, while the type is in a minority in all the other hoards. This would make sense provided that the Circumscription Rosette type was struck first and for a short period, with the Two-line variety being struck later and for a longer period. If so the first three hoards would have been deposited while the Two-line variety was still being struck, but before it had had time to dominate over the Circumscription Rosette type. In all the other hoards the variety as well had ceased to be struck and was by then dominant. As the figures for the hoards from Ireland (BI 145) and Smarmore (BI 147) are minute the evidence really rests on the Chester 1950 hoard, which admittedly has a strange composition. It would also tend to give a very early date of deposit to the Chester 1950 hoard, which for other reasons (see below), does not seem possible, and an assumption to the effect that the latest element in the Chester 1950 hoard was unduly weak must then be accepted. If, on the other hand, the Two-line variety is regarded as the earlier, the composition of the hoard is equally out of place compared with the other hoards. It is obvious that any interpretation based on the Chester 1950 hoard will have drawbacks. The solution which places the Two-line variety as the later of the two must be the more preferable choice.

As the hoard evidence cannot provide a conclusive answer to the earliest coinage in the north-west it is necessary to analyse other available information. Arranging the known moneyers found during Edwig and Edgar for the different types in the area according to two series based on the alternative chronologies could provide a clue to the correct order. If the Circumscription Rosette type is regarded as earlier, the moneyers are each known from a series of consecutive types (excluding the very rare Circumscription Cross type in the area) with the exceptions of Ælfstan for the Rosette/annulet-cross-annulet variety and Ælfrœd for the Circumscription Rosette type. If the Rosette/annulet-cross-annulet variety of the Two-line type is regarded as earlier the exceptions are more numerous and consist of Æthelhelm, Leofstan, Martin, and Teothic. It suggests that the former alternative is correct. As mentioned above there exists a mule between a Two-line type obverse of Edwig, and a reverse of Edgar of the Circumscription Rosette type used by the moneyer Ælfsige, no doubt at Chester (fig. 3.10). This could be regarded as the conclusive evidence that the Circumscription Rosette type was the earliest type to be struck in the north-west during Edgar (see Circumscription Rosette below). The Rosette/annulet-cross-annulet variety of the Two-line type would then belong to phase two in the area.

Nearly all the moneyers known for the Rosette/annulet-cross-annulet variety that can readily be connected with Chester are present in the Chester 1857 hoard (BI 153). Æthelhelm and Leofstan being the only exceptions. Of the remaining moneyers that are known for the variety, there are two (Gunnarr and Othilric) who are otherwise known at Derby, and one (Deorwulf) who is otherwise known at Tamworth. Unless they first worked at Chester, they indicate a tie between the mints. This is also evident from the fact that three moneyers known at Chester (Ælfrœd, Ealdwine, and Leofstan) are also known for the Rosette/three crosses variety, which otherwise is associated with Derby (see below).

One group of moneyers (Eahlmund, Freothuwulf, Hrodulf, Sigeferth, and Wœrstan) is likely to be associated with Chester, and the fact that these moneyers are not found on later mint-signed coins would indicate that they by then had ceased to strike coins.

It does not seem possible to divide phase two into an early and a late part, because the four hoards that were deposited while the variety was still being struck (Bangor, Chester 1950, Ireland, and Smarmore) only account for 12% of the total known in the hoards. All the moneyers who are later known at Chester obviously cover at least the latter part, and the moneyers that have no later tie to Chester, although here associated with Chester, will at least have operated during the early part.

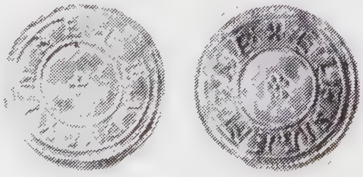


Fig. 3.10. Mule between Edwig Two-line type and Edgar Circumscription Rosette type.

BI	144	145	147	150	153	155	163	164	165	168	170	171	180	195
Ælfrœd*	2	–	–	1	1	1	1	–	5	–	1	2	1	–
Ælfsige*	2	–	1	–	3	–	1	–	1	2	2	1	1	–
Æthelhelm*	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	–
Deorwulf	–	–	–	–	2	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	1	–
Eadmund*	2	–	–	–	2	–	1	–	1	–	–	–	–	–
Eahlmund	–	–	–	–	2	–	–	–	1	–	–	1	1	–
Ealdwine*	–	–	–	–	3	–	1	–	3	–	–	2	1	–
Freothuric*	2	1	–	–	7	1	–	–	3	–	2	3	4	–
Freothuwulf	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–
Gillys*	–	–	–	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–
Gunnarr	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Hrodulf	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Iorothr*	3	–	–	–	6	–	1	–	1	–	–	1	1	–
Leofstan*	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Martin*	–	–	–	1	2	–	–	1?	–	–	–	–	1	–
Othilric	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Sigeferth	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	1	2	–
Teothic*	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Theodrœd	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Thormothr*	1	–	–	–	4	–	1	1	2	2	2	–	4	1
Wœrstan	1	–	–	–	2	–	–	–	3	–	–	1	3	–
Total	13	1	1	2+	38+	2	6	2	22	5	7	14	21	1

Table 3.6. The known moneyers for the Rosette/annulet-cross-annulet variety, and the hoards where they are found. Moneyers who are later known for mint-signed coins at Chester are marked '*'.

d) North-west II (Rosette/three crosses)

For the Rosette/three crosses variety at Derby (and Tamworth?) (plate 3.1:5a) the hoard situation (table 3.7) is not as fortunate as for the Rosette/annulet-cross-annulet variety. Chester 1950 (BI 144) is the earliest hoard provenance with eight specimens, the variety probably being introduced at the same time as the local Two-line variety at Chester. This variety is absent in the Chester 1857 (BI 153) and the Smarmore hoards (BI 147). In general the area would seem not to be as well documented in the hoards as Chester is. The conclusion must be that the circulation of coins in the Chester area in the early part of the reign had a very local character. This would explain why coins from Derby and Tamworth are not included in the other two hoards. This early local separatism is also indicated by the fact that they struck different varieties of the Two-line type. A gradual change of this situation is evident from a modest mixing between the two areas, as two moneyers (Gunnarr and Othilric) who are otherwise connected with Derby are also known for the Chester variety (see above), while three moneyers (Ælfrœd, Ealdwine, and Leofstan) who are usually connected with Chester are also known for the Derby variety. For the main local variety, however, eight moneyers can be associated with Derby, while it is only possible to tie one moneyer (Eoformund) to Tamworth (see however e.g. Manna in central Mercia below). One moneyer (Deorwulf), who is later known at Tamworth, is in Two-line only known for the Rosette/annulet-cross-annulet variety of which two specimens were found in the Chester 1857 hoard (BI 153). This could have repercussions for the position of Tamworth in phase two, when a connection to Chester is perhaps implicated, but the evidence for this is thin. In conclusion the Rosette/three crosses variety (and to some extent the Rosette/annulet-cross-annulet variety) constitutes phase two at Derby and Tamworth.

BI	144	145	163	164	165	170	171	180	296
Ælfræed	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Ælfstan	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Æthelrœd	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Æthelwulf	1	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–
Asfrith	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–
Asulfr*	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Berenhard*	–	–	–	1?	2	–	–	–	–
Boga*	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Dominicus	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–
Ealdwine	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Eoformund	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Fredic*	2	–	1	1	–	–	–	–	–
Grimbert	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Gunnarr*	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Hreitharr	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–
Ingalbert	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Ingalric	–	–	–	1	–	1	–	–	–
Ioli*	–	–	–	–	1	–	1	–	–
Landferth	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	1	–
Leofhelm	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Leofing	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Leofman	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	1
Leofstan	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Manna	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	1	–
Osweard	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–
Othilric*	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1?	–
Rædwine	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Sigegar*	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Uglubarthr	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Winemœr?	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–
Wulfgar	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	–
Wulfstan	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Wulfweard	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Total	8	1	1	3	9	1	2	7	1

Table 3.7. The known moneyers for the Rosette/three crosses variety, and the hoards where they are found. Moneyers who are later found for mint-signed coins at Derby are marked '*'.

e) Central Mercia (Rosette/three crosses and others)

For the mints in central Mercia the prospects of trying to establish a pattern are not as bad as they might at first appear considering that there is only one mint to which it is possible to associate a moneyer of the Rosette/three crosses variety, namely Warwick (Osweard). The other known moneyer in the area, Amundr at Stafford, is only known for Circumscription Rosette. If the association to Warwick is correct the variety was struck in the area (plate 3.1:5b). There are also another twenty moneyers striking the variety that have not been accounted for above (table 3.7). The interesting aspect here is that seven of these moneyers are also known from other varieties of the Two-line type than those discussed so far (table 3.8). It is a very tempting prospect to allocate these other varieties, as well as one additional variety, to central Mercia. The varieties number five; Two-line (cross): Rosette/three annulets (BMC Ie), Rosette/cross-rosette-cross (BMC Ij); Two-line (rosette): Cross/three rosettes (BMC If), Rosette/three rosettes (BMC Ig), and Rosette/three crosses (BMC Ii) (plate 3.1:6, 3.1:8-11).

The reasons for attributing these varieties to central Mercia are to begin with that all of them incorporate a rosette on the reverse and often one on the obverse as well, which makes an association with Mercia more than likely. There is also a single find from Worcester, which probably is of the Rosette/three annulets variety (stray find no. 7 below). Manna is the only moneyer in this large group that could be associated with either Derby or Tamworth. The name, however, is a very common one, and the connection is surely random in view of the other evidence for the group, which does not indicate a connection. Finally there is a small and very rare group of coins from Edwig where the reverse bear the moneyer's name on a single line, and with a rosette at top and bottom. Of the known eight moneyers, three (Landferth, Manna, and Uglubarthr) can be found to strike three of the above mentioned five varieties of Edgar's Two-line type, which means that they carry on an earlier tradition of local types or varieties.

Thus it would seem possible to attribute thirteen moneyers who are known for the five varieties (seven of which also strike the Rosette/three crosses variety) to central Mercia. Of the remaining twelve moneyers known for the Rosette/three crosses variety, one is (as noted above) associated with Warwick, and the others cannot immediately be associated with Derby or Tamworth. Some of them no doubt worked there; although not a single one was attributed to Tamworth above, it is very likely that the variety was struck at Tamworth due to the connection between Derby and Tamworth. Provisionally all the moneyers in this large group are attributed to central Mercia, though some no doubt worked at Derby and/or Tamworth.

The coins that can be connected with central Mercia, other than the Two-line varieties discussed here, are extremely rare (see the Circumscription Rosette and Floral types below). From this it is evident that the Two-line varities account for a very large part of the coinage in the area. They would constitute both phase two and three, but because the hoard evidence is so thin it is not possible to decide in detail which moneyers and which varieties are early and which are late. For the Rosette/three crosses variety the moneyers found in the early hoards from Chester 1950 (BI 144) and Ireland (BI 145) can of course be associated with phase two, but they may also have been active during phase three. The remaining moneyers may belong to phase two and/or phase three. Among the minor varieties, only the Cross/three rosettes (BMC Ig) variety can immediately be connected with phase two, as it is found in the early Smarmore hoard (BI 147).

	Ic	Ie	If	Ig	Ii	Ij
Ælfstan	2	–	–	–	–	–
Æthelrœd	2	–	–	1	–	–
Æthelwine	–	–	–	–	1	–
Æthelwulf	–	–	–	–	–	–
Asfrith	2	–	–	1	–	–
Asleikr	–	–	–	1	–	–
Beorhtferth	–	–	1	–	–	–
Dominicus	2	–	–	–	–	–
Heremod	–	1	–	–	–	–
Grimbert?	1	–	–	–	–	–
Hreitharr	2	–	–	–	–	–
Ingalbert	1	–	–	–	–	–
Ingalric	1	–	–	–	–	–
Landferth	1	–	1	–	–	–
Leofing	1	–	–	–	2	–
Leofman	3	–	–	–	–	–
Manna	6	–	1	2	–	1
Meinard	–	–	–	–	1	–
Osweard	5	–	–	–	–	–
Rœdwine	1	–	–	–	–	–
Thorfrithr	–	2	–	–	–	–
Uglubarthr	2	–	–	1	–	–
Wine	–	–	2	–	–	–
Winemœr?	1	–	1	–	–	–
Wulfgar	2	–	–	–	–	–
Wulfstan	1	–	–	–	–	–
Total	39	3	6	6	4	1

Table 3.8. The varities of the Two-line type that can be associated with central Mercia and the number of known specimens for each moneyer.

The exact geographical bounderies for this group from central Mercia are not altogether self-evident. Judging from the number of moneyers associated with it, it might give the impression of a sizeable coinage. The number of coins known from each moneyer, however, is very limited. They also extend over a period of considerable length. The implication must be that several mints are involved. Stafford in the north would seem to be linked to it, rather than to Derby and Tamworth in the absence of a later connection with those two mints. From a geographical point of view, however, it would perhaps be more natural to link Stafford to Derby and

Tamworth, or to Chester [Cf. Blunt 1974, 97 for Athelstan]. As the situation in phase two at Tamworth itself is open to debate, Stafford is here linked to central Mercia in phase two. Shrewsbury would then also be linked to the group.

The extension of the central Mercian group to the south is likewise uncertain. Blunt succeeded in showing that Oxford had a dual connection with Mercia and Wessex during Athelstan following the incorporation into Wessex in 911 [Blunt 1974, 66-7], and the ties to Wessex during Edgar's reign are also mixed. Since no mint-signed coins are known for the pre-reform period of Edgar for the area to the west of Warwick and Oxford, the connections of Gloucester and Hereford are uncertain. A mint at Worcester is also a possibility, and the still unidentified mint of 'Weardburh' is also located in this area. The latter mint is known from two mint-signed coins of the Circumscription Cross type, but of a very different style. The attribution might be regarded as somewhat uncertain for both. During Athelstan the evidence for 'Weardburh' pointed to a location 'in the west Midlands, perhaps in the country marching with Wales' [Blunt 1974, 104]. If the attribution to 'Weardburh' of the two Edgar pennies is correct, a location to Warborourgh in Oxfordshire, as has been suggested before, would seem attractive since there is just one coin of the type which can safely be attributed to central Mercia while it is very common in Wessex. It would then meet with no problems to tie Gloucester, Hereford, and perhaps Worcester to the central Mercian group.

f) Wessex (Cross/three crosses)

There have been different opinions concerning the Two-line type in the south, as should be apparent from the above survey of previously published works on the subject. Of the Trefoil/three crosses variety it has been stated either that a southern group is recognizable [Dolley & Metcalf 1961, 140, and plate XIII:3 is stated as an example of a coin presumably from southern England], or that the style of the more southerly moneyers is less clearly defined than earlier [Archibald & Blunt 1986, xxiii]. The Pellet/three crosses variety, which in the past has been attributed to the south, was clearly struck at York (see above). Universally recognized as southern is the Cross/three crosses variety [Dolley & Metcalf 1961, 159; Archibald & Blunt 1986, xxiii]. Before looking more closely into the problem of southern coins of the Two-line varieties it is necessary to observe the situation in the south during Edgar's predecessor Edwig.

When Edgar became king in the lands north of the Thames in 957, Edwig remained king in Wessex. The hoard situation is not better for the south during Edwig's reign. This is best illustrated by the fact that the greater part of the surviving coins of Edwig appear to belong to the area that Edwig held for only two years before it was lost to Edgar [Archibald & Blunt 1986, xxi-xxii, Dolley 1962E, 201]. The coins that are known from the south, where Edwig was king for four years, are limited to some of the Three-line type, a handful of the Circumscription Cross type, and one of the Crowned Bust type [Archibald & Blunt 1986, xxii]. This is of course an absurd situation dictated by the location of the hoards.

The Two-line varieties of Edwig correspond to those known for Edgar in the north-east (Trefoil/three crosses) and the north-west (Rosette/three crosses and Rosette/annulet-cross-annulet). There is, however, also a single specimen known of the Cross/three crosses variety, which was found during excavations in the Cathedral Green at Winchester in 1964; it is of southern style [Dolley & Blunt 1977, 136-7; Archibald & Blunt 1986, xvi]. It is no doubt crucial for understanding the Two-line coinage in the south during Edgar as well. To begin with, the coin of Edwig was a stray find from the south, a fact which is very important to remember, as it is an indication of the coins that were in local use. Secondly the name of the moneyer (Leofric) is Old English, which is the norm in the south, while it is much less common in the north. Thirdly this variety is never found in the hoards – which is hardly surprising as the hoards are from the north, and the circulation of coins was no doubt mainly limited to the monetary region in which they were struck. With this in mind a comparison with the same variety struck during Edgar (plate 3.1:4) shows the same characteristics. No stray finds exist for Edgar, and the two recorded hoard provenances are inevitably from the north. One is from the Isle of Man (Ballaquale – BI 165) and contain many coins from the south, while the other (Chester 1950 – BI 144) is notoriously rich in southern coins for a hoard from the northern part of England (see above). It is also to be noted that one of the four specimens known of this variety was published as early as 1695. The fact is that a disproportionate number of the coins from southern mints in the Circumscription Cross and Crowned Bust types have no hoard provenance. Even though this to some extent is a reflection of local stray finds from the south, it may also suggest that a hoard was recovered in southern England in the 17th century [Dolley 1973, 158]. In any event it must be clear that the four known coins of Edgar of the Cross/three crosses variety by the moneyers Beorhtric, Beorthwulf, Beornferth (or Beorhtferth), and Siduman constitute a variety struck in the south. It no doubt belongs to the beginning of his reign, in continuation of the same local variety struck during his predecessor Edwig.

The hoard situation makes any effort to estimate the size of the coinage, and for how long it was struck, speculative. A reasonable estimate is that it was of short duration and hence not too large, or it would have been able to dominate the circulation in the area (unless there was a local recoinage – see below), and more specimens would have found their way to the hoards in Ireland or elsewhere. It is just as speculative to define in detail the area where it was struck. As the style differs on the known specimens, it is not unlikely that it was struck in a large part of Wessex (see Circumscription Cross below). It would of course be possible to associate the four moneyers with individual mints where a moneyer with the same name was active. However, as the coinage of the south is extremely poorly documented, the chances of making associations that are not correct are obvious but the association of Beorhtwulf to Bath has much to commend itself. This variety would account for phase one in the whole, or more likely a large part, of Wessex.

g) South-east Midlands (Trefoil/three ccrosses)

There remains for consideration the possibility of a southern group in the Trefoil/three crosses variety. Among the moneyers for whom illustrations of their coins are available, only two moneyers, Brother and Grimr, both only known from the Chester 1950 hoard (BI 144), could qualify on stylistic grounds (plate 3.1:2c). It is striking that although they are not known from anywhere else, they are represented by two and three specimens respectively. The area that on this account would be the first choice is the south-eastern Midlands, which is well represented in the hoard. On linguistic grounds an area between the north and south would also agree well with the names of the moneyers. Grimr could be associated with Bedford, while a Brother is not to be found anywhere. Finally the style is neat and compatible with the one known in the area for the Three-line type of Edwig. There is also a large parcel of Edwig's Three-line type struck in this area in the Chester 1950 hoard, and they may well have been acquired there early in the reign of Edgar. Although somewhat speculative, it is therefore suggested here that the two moneyers worked in this area and that the variety accounts for phase one in the area.

The style of the single known coin of the moneyer Ælfsige (Chester 1950 hoard – BI 144) [Two coins of Ælfsige in the Derykeighan hoard, possibly of the Two-line type, have here been regarded as of the Three-line type] is also not compatible with the north-east. Nor does it correspond to Brother and Grimr above either, yet it can be compared with a coin of Edwig of the Three-line type, struck at Bedford by a moneyer of the same name [Archibald & Blunt 1986, no. 795]. The name is also found during Edgar at Newport Pagnall. Ælfsige is hence attributed to the south-east Midlands, which is an area that later on seems to show some variation in style.

There are, however, an additional four moneyers (Æthelrœd, Æthelstan, Godfrid, and Wulfstan) where no illustration is available from which the style can be determined. Mr. C.E. Blunt informs me that he does not regard them as part of the northern group, and on this basis they are here assigned to the south-east Midlands. In the Circumscription Cross and the Crowned Bust type a moneyer Wulfstan can be attributed to this area (see below), and it is then presumably the same individual. For the other three moneyers in this group no association with individual mints in the area is possible.

C) The Circumscription Cross type

a) Northumbria (York)

In the Circumscription Cross type the three moneyers Durand, Fastulfr, and Herewulf can confidently be attributed to York [Archibald and Blunt 1986, xxiii], though mint-signed coins are only known for Herewulf (Derrykeighan – BI 164) (plate 3.1:13a). Three specimens were present in the Tetney hoard (BI 141), and the coinage of this type at York constitutes the second phase there. The production continued to be substantial judging from the large number of surviving specimens. Their numbers might to some extent be misleading, as the area is extremely well covered in the hoards. Although no study of the number of dies in use has been undertaken, it is also evident from the great variation in the legends that the coinage was in fact large. As was the case in phase one, it is surprising that there were so few active moneyers. However, the group of coins where a second name accompanies that of Fastulfr (Boga, Hrafn, or Oda) probably belongs to the latter part of this phase, as they are only found in the late hoards of Ballaquale (BI 165), Derrykeighan (BI 164), and Tiree (BI 171). In the Derrykeighan hoard there is also recorded one specimen (the present whereabouts of which is unknown) struck by Hereger, who is known at York in phase one. His name could also explain a fragment in the Iona hoard (BI 180) [Stevenson 1966, no. 552], where the name ends '...ERES' [Blunt 1983A].

b) North-east

In the north-east, south of the Humber, the second phase ended with the Two-line type. A small group of coins of the Circumscription Cross type of a late date from this area (plate

3.1:13b) is indicated by coins of the moneyers Asfrith (Machrie – BI 168), Grith (Tiree – BI 171), Ingalferth (Ballaquale – BI 165, Iona – BI 180, and Tiree – BI 171), Leofing (Dalkey – BI 163 and Machrie – BI 168), and what is probably Wigferth (Iona – BI 180) though the first letter is missing from the only known specimen [Stevenson 1966, no. 517]. Dalkey could seem misplaced and too early, since the latest Two-line Trefoil/three crosses moneyers found in the hoard did not include any later than the beginning or the middle of the second phase. The small number of coins in the hoard, however, could explain why no other late moneyers were present. As all the other evidence points to a later date for the introduction of the Circumscription Cross type in the area, the time for the hoard from Dalkey must therefore be put at a later date because of the inclusion of one penny of this type. The Circumscription Cross coinage no doubt represents the third and final phase in this area before the reform. As with the final phase at York it is hard to estimate how long this type was struck, but it must have commenced prior to the final phase at York, judging from the hoards in which it is found, and the number of surviving specimens. As with the third phase at York the known coins are no doubt just a small sample of the total coinage.

c) North-west I (Chester)

In the north-west the Circumscription Cross type is known from mint-signed coins of Chester, Derby and Tamworth. At Chester there are only three moneyers known from mint-signed coins (Ælfsige, Freothuric, and Thormothr). No coins without mint-signatures are known of this type from moneyers that by other means can be connected to Chester (plate 3.1:13c). Hoard evidence for the mint-signed coins is confined to Chester 1950 (BI 144), and in fact this hoard accounts for eight of the nine coins known for the three moneyers. As they are not found in any other hoard, and all known moneyers are present, it must suggest that the issue was very brief and very limited, and that it had already ceased when the hoard was deposited. Accepting the Circumscription Rosette type as the earliest type in the north-west, and that the Rosette/annulet-cross-annulet variety of the Two-line type was still current when the Chester hoard was deposited, the Circumscription Cross coinage at Chester must be located between them and thus constitute the very end of the first phase.

d) North-west II (Derby and Tamworth)

It is convenient to compare the evidence for the Circumscription Cross type struck at Derby and Tamworth (plate 3.1:13d) in the Chester 1950 hoard. Our chances of identifing moneyers at these two mints with the help of later mint-signed coins are less favorable than for Chester. Mint-signed coins are known at Derby from three moneyers, Berenhard, Boga, and Fredic. Of these three only Boga is represented in the Chester 1950 hoard (BI 144). The two others are both found in the Ballaquale hoard (BI 165). In view of this and the fact that the area in general gives the appearance of being less well documented in the hoards, this could indicate a slightly later date for the issue at Derby, as compared with Chester and also lasting for a somewhat longer period. The first indication is speculative, however, and the two series may well have begun at the same time. The type would account for the end of the first phase at Derby.

Mint-signed coins of Tamworth are known for Deorwulf and Eoformund, both without hoard provenance, as well as from coins without mint-signatures for Eoformund (Smarmore – BI 147). The type was obviously struck on a very modest basis, and the sole hoard evidence would seem to reflect the process of chance. It is, however, to be noted that only one coin, out of the five that are known, has a hoard provenance, and the question is whether this reflects a local find or whether the coinage was larger than it would otherwise appear to be.

Although the evidence concerning the development of the Circumscription Cross type at Chester, Derby, and Tamworth seems to differ, it may well be that they followed the same pattern as the evidence in each case is very thin. Each mint also used a different symbol, which was added to the obverse field.

e) Central Mercia

A single surviving fragment of a coin, struck at Warwick and found in Dublin (plate 3.2:1a) [Wallace 1986, 210, where it is indicated that the type is somewhat uncertain; but the attribution is confirmed, however, by direct photos kindly supplied by M. Kenny], is evidence of the fact that a brief coinage of the Circumscription Cross type occured in central Mercia. Another fragment of the type, this time by the moneyer Oswine, might be associated with the moneyer of the same name who strikes coins of one of the Floral types. If so it could be connected to central Mercia as well. Although hoard evidence is lacking, the implication is that central Mercia continued to follow the development in the north-west, and that the type constitutes the very end of phase one in central Mercia as well.

f) South-east Midlands

In the Circumscription Cross type there are some mints-signed coins recorded from the south-eastern part of the

Midlands (plate 3.2:1b), viz. from Bedford (Grimr), Buckingham (Tunwulf), Newport Pagnall (Ælfsige), and Northampton (where the mint-signature is sometimes ambiguous) (Baldric, Eadwulf, Mantat, Radulf, and Thorfrithr). A number of moneyers can also be associated with this area because of their names and/or style, although they do not have a mint-signature [A coin of the moneyer Oswald has – with reserve – been attributed to Shrewsbury, Gunstone 1971, no. 172, but the coin is clearly of the style found in the south-east Midlands; see Blunt 1983B and Campbell 1983]. There is considerable variation in style.

Regarding the chronology of this type, the evidence of the hoards is not altogether clear, as coins of both the Circumscription Cross and the Crowned Bust type struck in the area are represented in the early hoards. However, as the coins of the Circumscription Cross type in the early hoards (Chester 1959 – BI 144, Ireland – BI 145, and Smarmore – BI 147) are confined to specimens exhibiting a local and more coarse style, it is likely that the ones with a neat style are late. On this basis the Circumscription Cross type would constitute phase three in the south-east Midlands, and can be divided into an early and a late part. The hoard evidence for the late style, where all coins have an unambiguous mint-signature, is confined to Ginand (Ballaquale – BI 165), and Grimr (Machrie – BI 168).

No coins with a mint-signature are known for Huntingdon. If the chronology suggested here is correct, the mint-signed coins are very few from the early period, when the coinage is best covered in the hoards, while the late ones (always with a mint-signature) seem to be unique in each and every case. As Huntingdon is known in the Crowned Bust type, its absence among surviving coins in the Circumscription Cross type is no doubt due to chance and to the hoard situation.

g) Wessex

In southern England, coins of the Circumscription Cross type are usually mint-signed. They are known from Bath and Totnes in the west to Canterbury and London in the east. Several local styles are involved. Each mint/moneyer combination is often known from just one coin, and many of them lack a hoard provenance. Thus the hoards give only very fragmented information about the chronology for the type in the area, but the logical assumption to make, is that this type was dominant in the entire area during most of the pre-reform period. The situation would not, however, seem to be exactly the same all over Wessex.

In the south-west a distinctive style is found on coins of this type during Edwig (Barnstaple, Exeter, and Totnes), and also during Edgar (Exeter and Totnes, but usually without a mint-signature) [Dolley 1962E, Blunt 1966, 8-9], when it is found in early hoards (Chester 1950 – BI 144 and Smarmore – BI 147). This suggests that the type was struck without interruption. Hence it would constitute phase one in this part (plate 3.2:1c); however, there are problems concerning the later phases. If the style was confined to Devonshire [Dolley 1962E, 199, attributes the coins with this style 'to the West Country, if not indeed to Devonshire'], it could have continued during phase two and three as well. The only obstacle to this theory is a coin of the Crowned Bust type in the Chester 1950 hoard, with the mint-signature 'TOT', and which has been attributed to Totnes [Blunt & Dolley 1953, no. 496; Archibald & Blunt 1986, no. 1159]. If, however, no mint-signature is intended, 'TOT' would be part of a blundered ending of MONETA, and this part of the legend should then simply be read 'MOTOT'. The style is odd and hard to fit in anywhere, but the south-east Midlands, where the style varies considerably, would then be an alternative. If this solution is acceptable, the development in the south-west would present no problems. It would then also perhaps be possible to assign coins of the Circumscription Cross type with a clear mint-signatures to phase one, while the more blundered ones would tend to belong to phase two and three.

Based on the solution just suggested, Bath in Somerset did not make use of the style found in Devonshire. However, mint-signed coins from Bath of quite another style (plate 3.2:1d) are known for five moneyers (Æthelferth, Æthelric, Æthelsige, Beornferth, and Wulfbeald), four of whom have just a single coin each. There are no early hoard provenances, while two belong to the late hoard from Machrie (BI 171). This could of course be attributed to chance, but the general indication is that the type belongs to a late part of the reign. Provisionally it would constitute phase three in Somerset, where it is likely that more mints were active, with Langport being one candidate.

There exist a number of mint-signed coins from central Wessex (Berkshire, Dorset, Hampshire, Surrey, Sussex, and Wiltshire) involving Malmesbury, Shaftesbury, Wallingford, Wilton, Winchester, and perhaps Southampton. Some variation in style is noticeable, but it may partly be explained by developments over time (plate 3.2:1e). The single recorded coin of the moneyer Beorhtric at Wallingford has an elegant style and the title 'REX TO BRI' [Lockett 623, Glendining 6.6.1955). This title in the Circumscription Cross type is otherwise recorded only at Northampton [Blunt & Dolley 1971, 95]. If it is correct to assume that the letters were of medium size in the beginning, and progressively smaller later on, there would at the same time seem to have been a general tendency to gradually eliminate the additional mark which is often found in the field. The earliest hoard evidence is Chester 1950 (BI 144) for the sole coin of Shaftesbury, which has a thin, neat style not found on any of the others. The remaining hoard provenances are late, Ballaquale – BI 165 (Chichester – 1, Wallingford – 1, Wilton – 1, Winchester – 2), Glendalough – BI 166 (Wilton – 1), Iona – BI 180 (Wallingford – 1, Winchester? – 1), Kilkenny – BI 170 (Malmesbury – 1, Wilton – 1), and Machrie – BI 171 (Wallingford – 1). If the hoard evidence were to be stretched to its utmost in combination with the assumption made above, it would mean that the coin of the Circumscription Cross type struck at Shaftesbury (Dorset) belongs to phase one or two. For the remaining mints the type would be confined to phase two (medium size letters) and three (neat letters).

From Oxford four moneyers are known from mint-signed coins, and one further coin without a mint-signature can be associated with the mint via later coins. Of the former group, one – by the moneyer Wulfstan – is represented in the Chester 1950 hoard (BI 144), and is of a style which has affinities with a style in the south-east Midlands. It probably belongs to phase one or two, and it is known from at least two more specimens. The coins of all the other moneyers, each all apparently unique, display the neat style similar to phase three in central Wessex. The location of the mint 'Weardburh' has also previously been associated with Warborough in Oxfordshire [Blunt 1974, 103]. Two coins are known: one, with the mint-signature 'VRDBY' [Archibald & Blunt 1986, no. 1098], has a style similar to central Wessex. The other, with mint-signature 'WRDBREI'(first part double-struck) [Archibald & Blunt 1986, no. 1099], has a style for which a comparison is more difficult to find. On this basis an attribution to Warborough in Oxfordshire would not be impossible.

In the south-east (Kent) recorded mints are limited to Canterbury (plate 3.2:1f). The style of the single coin known is similar to phase two in central Wessex. One coin by the moneyer Wine in the Smarmore hoard [Blunt 1953, no. 52], has been attributed to Canterbury, but the style of the coin is clearly connected with the south-east Midlands. For the mint of Lympne see discussion on the Floral/cross type below.

There are four recorded London moneyers, the coins of two of whom were part of the Ballaquale hoard (BI 165), which would of course suggest that they belong to the latter part of the reign. Of the five known specimens one [Æthelsige – Hd 28] has in fact been found in Sweden (Värpinge, Skåne – DS 43) (plate 3.2:1g). A common style is found for three of the moneyers, one of whom (Æthelweald) is also found with yet another style [Blunt 1966, 9]. The type would constitute phase three in London, which would seem to begin earlier than phase three in central Wessex.

No coins are known for the Circumscription Cross type at Hertford (or Maldon), which is located in an area with connections to London (see Crowned Bust type below). If the type was struck there, which is likely, it would belong to phase three and have a clear mint-signature, and there is consequently little point in trying to associate coins without a mint-signature to Hertford. As with all other late pre-reform coins of Edgar, it would be left to chance if a specimen were to be found among surviving coins or not.

D) The Circumscription Rosette type

It would appear that a rosette was a feature on the coins of Mercia since the time of Athelstan 924-39 [Blunt 1974, 48, 97]. In Edgar the local varieties of the Two-line type that incorporate rosettes on the reverse are clearly linked to this area [Dolley 1959B]. The same holds true for the Circumscription Rosette type, which, as for the Two-line varieties, can best be dealt with in three sections covering Chester, Derby and Tamworth, and central Mercia, respectively. The first area is best covered by hoards, while the last is probably least well covered.

a) North-west I (Chester)

The existence of a reverse die used by the moneyer Ælfsige found muled with an obverse die of the Circumscription Cross type with the name of King Edwig 955-9 (fig. 3.10), has prompted the suggestion that the type was struck early in the reign of Edgar [Archibald and Blunt 1986, xxiii]. This is no doubt correct, and the type would constitute the early and middle part of phase one in the area (see also above Rosette/annulet-cross-annulet variety of the Two-line type).

The Chester 1950 hoard contained coins of both of the two Chester moneyers (Eadmund and Thormothr) recorded for mint-signed coins of this type. Of a further six moneyers (Ælfsige, Ælfstan, Ealdwine, Freothuric, Gillys, and Iorothr) associated with Chester, but only known from coins of the type without mint-signature (plate 3.2:2a), coins of four are found in the hoard, while Iorothr was represented with a Circumscription Cross/Circumscription Rosette mule. An additional seven specimens of the first group of moneyers and six specimens of the second group are found in other (later) hoards. Together the hoards cover all the known moneyers.

This would suggest that the type lasted for a longer period compared to Circumscription Cross, as coins of the Circumscription Rosette type are found in no less than nine different hoards with a total of 23 specimens. There is also a group of four moneyers (Eoforheard, Sigeferth, Wœrstan, and Wilsige) who are not known at Chester in later types. Wœrstan is also known in the Two-line type variety associated with Chester (Rosette/annulet-cross-annulet), and the other three are each known from more than half a dozen coins of the Circumscription Rosette type which would indicate that they belong to a large mint, and hence would fit in well at Chester. All or some of them, however, could alternatively be associated with central Mercia.

b) North-west II (Derby and Tamworth)

There are six and three moneyers respectively that are known from mint-signed coins (plate 3.2:2b) or can be associated with the Circumscription Rosette type at Derby (Asulfr, Boga, Fredic, Ioli, Manna, and Othilric) and at Tamworth (Deorwulf, Eoformund, and Spereman). Five of the moneyers from Derby are found in the Chester 1950 hoard, and two of the moneyers from Tamworth are officially recorded from the hoard, while the third (Spereman) is claimed to be a stray from the hoard [Gunstone 1971, no. 178]. Two additional specimens from Derby and two from Tamworth are found in later hoards. The coinage would fit into the later part of phase one. It appears that this type is better covered for this area than for Chester in the Chester 1950 hoard, or else that it was struck on a comparatively larger scale at Derby and Tamworth.

c) Central Mercia

In central Mercia the sole conclusive evidence for the Circumscription Rosette type is a coin struck at Stafford by the moneyer Amundr (who is also known from coins without mint-signature – plate 3.2:2c) [Blunt 1973, 15-16]. Two coins of this type in the Chester 1950 hoard (BI 144) by the moneyer Hildulfr are likely to be connected with the moneyer of the same name striking halfpennies of the Floral type (see below), which would tie him to central Mercia. A small group of coins of the type struck by the moneyers Daniel and Frodald, who are not recorded for any other type, could also perhaps be associated with mints in central Mercia. The only recorded hoard provenance is Chester 1950 (BI 144), and there is only one additional specimen known without hoard provenance. Although there is very little tangible evidence for connecting these two moneyers to central Mercia, they appear to have worked at minor mints, in which case central Mercia is the likely area. Another group involving four moneyers could also perhaps wholly or partly belong to the area (see Chester above).

As for the other areas where the Circumscription Rosette type was struck, the hoard evidence is not conclusive for central Mercia, but it is logical to assume that this type occupies the same early position as elsewhere, and it would then constitute phase one in central Mercia.

E) The Three-line type

a) North-west I and II

The Three-line type was only struck at Chester, Derby, and Tamworth (plate 3.1:12). The coins earlier attributed to Newark or York (mint-signature 'NE') are now believed to have been struck at Chester, as the 'mint-signature' in this case is a continuation of the contraction 'MO' of MONETA [Blunt & Dolley 1953, 127, 132]. As both Newark and York belong to another circulation area it would also have been impossible to explain such a coinage at either mint. The controversial question connected with the Three-line type has, however, been that of the dating. While it has been suggested that it was struck after the reform [Dolley & Metcalf 1961, 141, and again in Dolley 1969, 185], most commentators have agreed that it belonged to the end of Edgar's reign but without drawing a line before or after the reform. Others have claimed that it must belong to the period before the reform, as it would be impossible to strike another type once the reform had taken place, and both Derby and Tamworth are located inland [Brand 1984, 14]. So far the hoard evidence for this type has, however, not received the necessary analysis.

The absence of this type in the Chester 1950 hoard (BI 144), has been one of the arguments to show how late the type was struck [Blunt & Dolley 1953, 126-7, where the date of deposit is set at c. 970]. As shown above, the time of deposit for the hoard must fall somewhere in the middle of the reign. There are many hoards that were deposited later, and the last period before the reform is in fact very poorly documented in any hoard. At the three active mints, Chester, Derby, and Tamworth, the type would constitute the third and final phase before the reform. The phase must here have been of considerable length, since it is so well represented in the hoards compared with phase three at York and the north-east. No less than 20 or 21 moneyers worked at Chester, while 2 are known from Derby and 4 from Tamworth. At least 75 coins are recorded from hoards, and more than 100 coins are known in all, which is a very high figure, considering the absence of hoards dating from the last few years before the reform.

F) The Crowned Bust type

No coins of this type can be associated with mints in the north, and the small number of coins of this type found in hoards outside England has led to the idea that there was a resistance against portrait coins in these areas (see section 3.3). It is clear, however, that the large number of coins of this type in the Chester 1950 hoard (which no doubt has given rise to the suggestion as this hoard contains no less than 24 specimens, while only 10 coins are recorded from other hoards), does not reflect the coins in circulation in the north-west of England, while the non-English hoards do.

a) East Anglia

With the help of style it has previously been possible to identify an East Anglian group (plate 3.2:3a) [Dolley & Metcalf 1961, 159], of which only three coins are recorded from hoards (Chester 1950 – BI 144 and Tiree – BI 171), while a further eighteen lack hoard provenance. No other types can be connected with East Anglia, and the Crowned Bust type must have been the sole type in the area up to the reform. None of the coins have a mint-signature, but the mint is no doubt Norwich.

Coins of quite a different style by the moneyer Æthelferth have the ambiguous mint-signature 'ÐI', which has been interpreted as possibly denoting Thetford [Archibald & Blunt 1986, no. 1173-4]. The interpretation must remain uncertain, and they are included here only with some reserve.

b) South-east Midlands

The evidence of the hoards is, as already mentioned (see Circumscription Cross above), at first sight not conclusive to establish a chronology for the types in the area, as coins of both the Crowned Bust and Circumscription Cross type are represented in the early hoards. They point, however, to a suggestion that one style found in the Circumscription Cross type is late. If this is correct the Crowned Bust type must belong to phase two in the south-east Midlands (plate 3.2:3b). This would mean that, in absolute terms, it is confined to a very short period, which is not altogether satisfying, but on the other hand the evidence does not support the alternative view of an early and a late issue, interrupted by the Circumscription Cross type. Of the fourteen moneyers, including Burhstan (otherwise attributed to Totnes – see above), who here are associated with the south-east Midlands, only five are recorded from mint-signed coins. Seven of the moneyers were represented in the Chester 1950 hoard (BI 144), while another two are found in other later hoards (Dalkey – BI 163 and Kilkenny BI 170).

Many of the coins have what appears to be a common style, but some (Baldwin, Burhstan, Eadmœr) have different styles. This is in line with the situation in the area during the Circumscription Cross type, but it is also an indication of the fact that many of the attributions must remain uncertain.

c) Western Wessex

In Wessex one coin each of this type has been attributed to Bath, Exeter ((?), and Totnes, all from the Chester 1950 hoard (BI 144). The attribution to Exeter is based on the assumed mint-signature`EA' and is considered as doubtful [Archibald & Blunt 1986, no. 1149]. On stylistic grounds it would fit better in the south-east Midlands. Based on the development in south-western Wessex during the Circumscription Cross type (see above), the coin of Totnes could represent a similar case. This would leave Bath as the sole mint in western Wessex for the Crowned Bust type, where it would constitute phase two at Bath and possibly at other mints in Somerset (plate 3.2:3c). It would, however, seem that the type was not struck elsewhere in central and south-western Wessex.

d) London

It is justifiable to treat London apart from the rest of Wessex, as the Crowned Bust type was here struck on a substantial scale involving six moneyers, all known from mint-signed coins (plate 3.2:3d). During the reign of Edwig, a single coin of this type is known from London [Robertson 1961, no. 675], but the authenticity of the piece has been challenged [See Dolley 1975C]. It was struck by the moneyer Æthelwulf, who is also known for a single coin of Edgar of the type, but he is not known for the Circumscription Cross type or from the post-reform period. It is not easy to pass judgment without having seen the actual coin, but based on general developments in London it would not seem out of place. The reluctance in the past to accept the Edwig piece may be connected with the fact that it stands out as unique, but in view of the hoard situation for Edwig nothing else is really to be expected. This is best illustrated when compared with Edgar, where only the moneyer Æthelrœd is represented in the hoards (Ballaquale – BI 165, Chester 1950 – BI 144, and Machrie – BI 168). This is evidently a reflection of the regional character of the coinage, and should not be interpreted as indicating a low mintage, as e.g. two (or possibly three) coins are known from stray finds (no. 2, 5(?), and 6 below).

If the Crowned Bust coin of Edwig is genuine it is possible to see the type continue without interruption in London during a large part of the reign of Edgar. It would account for phase one and two there.

e) Hertfordshire (and Essex)

For the coinage of Athelstan, Blunt could show that Hertford and Maldon were linked to Wessex [Blunt 1974, 61]. If the situation remained the same during Edgar, which is likely, it would be possible to tie Hertford (and Maldon, if a mint operated there) to the development in London. The division in 957, which according to the biographer of St. Dunstan followed the Thames, would seem to contradict this connection. The validity of the division along the Thames is confirmed by the fact that the ealdorman of Essex subscribes to the charters of Edgar after the division [See tables in Keynes 1985B]. As the reason for the division in 957 is uncertain [Keynes 1985B points to the possibility that ealdorman Athelstan 'Half-King' of East Anglia may have played a prominent part in the division], special circumstances may have affected how the division was made, and until further evidence is available the contradiction must remain unanswered.

A variety of the Crowned Bust type where the bust is confined within the inner circle is characteristic of Hertford, and perhaps confined to the mint there (plate 3.2:4). Of three known specimens of the variety, one each of the moneyers Beorhtferth, Manna, and Wulfmœr [Blunt 1972, 22-4], only one has a hoard provenance (Ballaquale – BI 165). If so, the Crowned Bust type at Hertford would, following the pattern at London where the type was evidently struck during a long period, constitute both phase one (regular type) and phase two (Circular variety).

G) The Floral types and the halfpennies

These two very small groups, with only four coins of the former and five of the latter known, are best treated together.

A wide variety of Floral types were struck during Edward the Elder, and some served as prototypes for those struck later. There exists a convenient list in the order of the forthcoming CTCE [Archibald & Blunt 1986, xvii]. From Athelstan a single pair of dies of one type is known, which Blunt provisionally attributed to Warwick [Blunt 1974, 102-3]. Another type struck by Edmund incorporate a Rosette for the first time. The type was probably also used by Edred, who is furthermore known for one type without a rosette. The two Floral types used for pennies during Edwig (one of which include a rosette) are somewhat more independent, while the halfpenny type imitates a type of Edward the Elder and has a rosette at top and bottom on the reverse.

Edwig's penny of the Cross/floral type with the rosette was also struck during Edgar (moneyer Osweald) (plate 3.2:5), when the halfpenny type of Edwig was used as well (moneyers Hildulfr and Oswine) (plate 3.2:10). The remaining Floral/cross type (moneyer Beorhtnoth) (plate 3.2:6) and Floral cross/cross type (moneyer ...BOLD) (plate 3.2:7) were more independent and probably neither of them include a rosette. The rosette on the type struck by Osweald has prompted an attribution to the north-west [Dolley & Metcalf 1961, 160], and a connection to Mercia for all the other types which incorporate a rosette seems more than likely as well [Dolley 1959B]. One of the two moneyers striking the halfpenny (Hildulfr) is also known for the Circumscription Rosette type (see central Mercia above). The hoard evidence for all the Floral types with a rosette is minute, being limited to a halfpenny in the Chester 1950 hoard. It is probable that the whole group was confined to central Mercia, which would seem to have had a tradition for local types and varieties. As to its dating the Chester 1950 hoard is an early indication, but it is not possible to say how long it continued.

For the Floral type and variety without the rosette, the picture is different. The former is known from the Iona hoard (BI 180), and the latter from Ballaquale (BI 165), i.e. two late hoards. The mint-signature on the former is ambigous ('LI-HA/LIMA'), and has been interpreted as Leicester [Dolley & Metcalf 1961, 160]. This part of England is, however, very well documented in the hoards, and it might seem a bit surprising that only a single specimen should be preserved. An explanation could of course be offered, if it was struck very late in the reign or on a minute scale. Another obstacle is that the coinage in this part of England was very homogeneous, and a type of this kind would break that pattern. If on the other hand the mint-signature stands for Lympne the obstacles might at first seem to be the same, but for the coinage in the south-east practically nothing is known (one coin of Canterbury in Circumscription Cross), so that it is not really easy to know what is to be expected. As a mint was operating at Lympne as early as the reign of Athelstan [Blunt 1974, 77-8, Dolley 1964A], it would thus also not be unacceptable. The style of the coin and the name of the moneyer (also known in Circumscription Cross but then of south-western style [Feilitzen & Blunt 1971, 189]) would fit better in the south. The type (and presumably its variety) is hence here attributed to the south-east (Kent). If regarded as a local variety of the Circumscription Cross type, this type would fit in a pattern found in the Reform issue, when the Kentish mints at Canterbury and Lympne indulged in a local variety (see section 4.4). As regards the date, the evidence of the hoards, which might not be decisive, would put it fairly late, presumably phase two (or three?).

Two types of halfpennies, both of which lack hoard provenances, were struck at Winchester (plate 3.2:8 and 3.2:11). The motifs do not provide any guidance to their chronological order since the former can be connected with the Circumscription Cross type (which cover nearly all of Edgar's pre-reform period at Winchester) and the latter is a revival of a type of Alfred with the mint-signature on a single line. The same revival is found on the unique halfpenny of the London monogram type, where the hoard provenance (Chester 1950) means that it was struck relatively early in the reign.

H) Additional elements

In addition to local varieties there are also often a letter, one or more crosses, one or more pellets etc. in the obverse or reverse field, which also is of a local character, although usually more limited. They are probably in many instances connected to the die-cutting centres and should of course best be analysed together. No proper analysis of the die-cutting centres, and the styles employed by them, has been undertaken here. It may perhaps none the less be of interest to try to summarize the more obvious additional marks found on coins of the various types and varieties.

A cross is found on the obverse of the Two-line Pellet/three crosses variety struck in the third phase at York.

Coins of the Two-line Rosette/three crosses variety usually have the letter M (for Mercia/Merciorum?) [Cf. Blunt 1974, 94 for Athelstan] on the obverse.

In the Circumscription Cross issue, a pellet is often found while a cross is found exceptionally on coins of Winchester, while those struck at Chichester have a cross. At Chester the letter S is found, at Tamworth a chi-roh. At York an annulet is found exceptionally [Blunt 1966, 9] besides the more common pellet(s).

In the Crowned Bust type coins of London often have four extra crosses on the reverse, while those struck in the south-east Midlands can have a cross, a pellet or both, or a cross and three pellets, while others (confined to Bedford?) have a trefoil.

There is also a further group of additional marks, but this time it is confined to the legends. This concerns the so-called secret marks used at York, and it is regretful that no analysis has as of yet been made of them. At present it is not possible to determine whether they denote groups of dies that were used to strike a certain issue, or whether they denote a system of workshops, etc. The same mark can be found on more than one die, which would seem to exclude the possibility that they denote different dies [Dolley 1952].

3.5. The stray finds

The number of stray finds has grown since Dolley and Metcalf [Dolley & Metcalf 1961, 141-3] made a first attempt to assemble the evidence for southern England. The growth is largely dependent on an increasing number of finds made during archaeological excavations and detector finds. The distribution of the detector finds tend to be dependent on local interest and personal contacts [Blackburn & Bonser 1985, 55]. The present number of finds from southern as well as northern England is twenty-six (fig. 3.11). References are to Dolley and Metcalf unless otherwise noted.

Wessex

1. Chichester, 1971. Halfpenny of Circumscription Cross type, Chichester, without name of the moneyer. Archibald & Blunt 1986, no. 1076.
2. Dartford, Spring Vale, Kent, 1924 or earlier. Crowned Bust, London, Beorhtsige. Gunstone (forthcoming) no. 793.
3. London, St. Bartholomew's Church, before 1841. Halfpenny of the Single-line type, Winchester. Blunt & Dolley 1953, 135.
4. Lympne, before 1850. Circumscription Cross, Burhstan. Archibald & Blunt 1986, no. 1080.

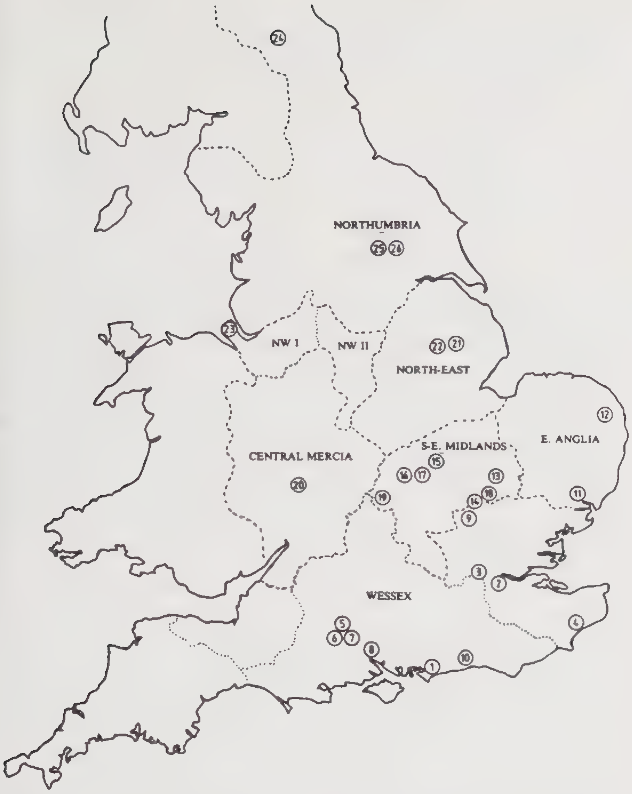


Fig. 3.11. Stray finds from England with pre-reform coins of Edgar.

5. Old Sarum, before 1695. Crowned Bust, London, Ælfnoth. Provenance doubtful. Archibald & Blunt 1986, comment to no. 1154.
6. Salisbury, 18th century. Crowned Bust, London, Æthelrœd.
7. Salisbury, 19th century. Type and moneyer not recorded.
8. Southampton, 18th century. Type and moneyer not recorded.
9. Stevenage (around), 1984. Circumscription Cross, Northampton, Eadwulf. Information from C.E. Blunt.
10. Steyning, St. Cuthman's Field, Sussex, 1967. Circumscription Cross, Winchester, Wulfsige. Gunstone (forthcoming) no.791.

East Anglia

11. Ipswich, Cox Lane, 1957-8. Crowned Bust, Norbert. Clough 1980, no. 1125.
12. Neatishead (near), Norfolk, 1983 or earlier. Crowned Bust, Boge. Blunt 1985.

South-east Midlands

13. Cambridge, Castle Hill, 1984. Crowned Bust, Folcnard. Blackburn & Bonser 1984, no. 3.
14. Cambridgeshire and Hertfordshire borders, before 1853. Crowned Bust, Manticen. Archibald & Blunt 1986, no. 1179.
15. Irthlingborough, Northamptonshire, 1985. Circumscription Cross, Hardbeorht. Blackburn & Bonser 1985, no. 33.
16. Northampton, Northamptonshire, year? Two-line, Manna.
17. Northampton, Northamptonshire, between 1973 and 1976? Two-line Rosette/ three crosses, Leofhelm. CTCE.
18. Royston (near), Cambridgeshire, before 1986. Crowned Bust, Bruning. Blackburn & Bonser 1986, no. 63.
19. Sulgrave, Northamptonshire, 1976. Circumscription Cross, Warin. Blackburn 1979.

Central Mercia

20. Worcester, Castle Hill, c. 1833. Two-line Rosette/three annulets, Thorfrithr. The identification of this particular coin with the find is probable. Gunstone 1977, no. 166.

North-east

21. Goltho, Lincolnshire, 1974. Two-line Trefoil/three crosses, Asfrith. Blackburn, Colyer & Dolley 1983, 15.
22. Lincoln, Flaxengate, 1974. Two-line Trefoil/three crosses, Ingolfr. Blackburn, Colyer & Dolley 1983, 15.

North-west

23. Meols, Cheshire, 1870s. Three-line, Chester, Teodic. Gibson 1877 [I am grateful to C.E. Blunt and C.S.S. Lyon for this reference].

Northumbria

24. Bonjedward (north of Jedburgh), Roxburghshire, before 1832? Type and moneyer not recorded. Stevenson 1966, xviii.

25-6. York, Coppergate, 1979. Circumscription Cross, Fastulfr. Pirie 1986, no. 60-1.

In each region the finds are limited to coins that were struck by mints located in the region, with the exception of the south-east Midlands. However, with one exception (no. 17) the non-regional coins found there represent types that were struck in the region. The hoards in the north provide information concerning the restricted areas of circulation in the north. For the south, the stray finds would seem to be able to provide information as to the areas of circulation, though not as detailed and well documented.

It can be added to this that the stray finds from other parts of the British Isles would tend to corroborate the pattern in the hoards in those areas, in the respect that they are almost exclusively confined to coins struck in northern England.

3.6. Weight and silver content

Information on weights of some types has been presented by Metcalf and Dolley [Dolley & Metcalf 1961, 166 note 2], but their survey does not take into account whether they were struck at different mints or not. At the moment there is thus no available study of the weights. Lyon has noted, however, that coins of the Two-line variety struck at York and Lincoln do not follow the same weight standard [In Metcalf 1986, 151 note 63].

A metal analysis of some of the pre-reform coins in the Edinburgh collection has been published [McKerrell & Stevenson 1972, 207-208], but the results have evidently been affected by the soil in which the individual coins were found, and the accuracy of the tests has also been called into question [Metcalf 1986, 143-5].

3.7. Conclusions

3.7.1. The geographical origin of the pre-reform coins of Edgar in the hoards

Based on the survey of the types and varieties made above it is possible to present in detail the geographical composition of the hoards (table 3.9).

										Wessex				
BI			York	NE	NWI	NWII	CM	SEM	EA	SW	W	C	SE	L
141	Tetney	E	122	172	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
143	Ballaqueeny	M	–	4	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
144	Chester 1950	E	17	16	45	16	8	30	1	2	1	4	–	4
145	Ireland	I	1	1	2	–	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	–
147	Smarmore	I	16	15	4	1	1	1	–	2	–	–	–	–
148	York	E	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
150	Bangor	W	–	–	2+	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
152	Burt	I	1	6	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
153	Chester 1857	E	–	–	66?	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
155	Kirk Andreas	M	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
160	Bullock (no. 1)	I	1	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
163	Dalkey	I	7	16	14	3	–	2	–	–	–	1	–	–
164	Derrykeighan	I	17	62	7	2	1	1	–	–	–	1	–	–
165	Ballaquale	M	62	101	39	11	11	7	–	1	–	8	1	4
166	Glendalough	I	1	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–
168	Machrie (Islay)	S	16	37	22	4	1	4	–	–	–	–	–	1
170	Co. Kilkenny	I	5	15	14	2	2	1	–	–	–	2	–	–
171	Tiree	S	24	49	25	1	1	–	1	–	2	1	–	–
173	Welwyn	E	–	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
180	Iona	S	73	100	36	2	6	1	–	–	–	2	2	–
190	Tarbat	S	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
192	Quendale	S	2	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
193	Burray	S	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
194	Inchkenneth	S	5	5	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
195	Knockmaon	I	–	3	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
248	Kirk Michael	M	2	3	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
296	?	I	–	2	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
	Total		372	613	282	42	33	48	2	5	3	20	3	9

Table 3.9. Suggested geographical composition of the pre-reform element of Edgar in the hoards. Some of the coins attributed to central Mercia may in fact belong to NWII. Find areas: E – England, I – Ireland, M – Isle of Man, S – Scotland , W – Wales. Origins of the coins: CM – central Mercia, EA – East Anglia, NWI – Chester, NWII – Derby and Tamworth, SEM – south-east Midlands, Wessex: C – central, L – London and Hertford, SE – south-east, SW – southwest, W – west.

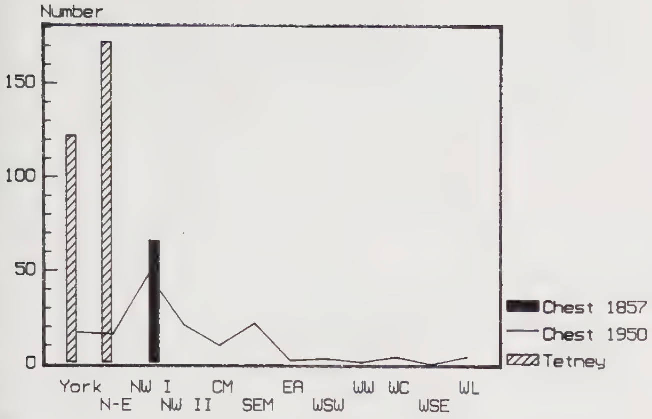


Fig. 3.12. The geographical origin of Edgar's pre-reform coins in the English hoards.

In general the composition of the non-English hoards is similar, with a very pronouced northern bias. The extremely restricted composition of the English hoards from Tetney (BI 141) and Chester 1857 (BI 153) is also evident (fig. 3.12).

The Chester 1950 hoard (BI 144) and the Ballaquale hoard (BI 165) are the only two which contain more than just a few coins struck in Wessex. The non-typical composition of the former hoard, compared to any other hoard in the table, is also evident (fig. 3.12). In the Smarmore hoard there are three southern coins, of which two can be attributed to south-western Wessex, while a third (moneyer Wihtmund and not included in the table) is more uncertain, and it could conceivably even belong to an area other than Wessex. In any event it is not likely that the two coins from south-western Wessex had been obtained in northern England: rather, they must have been acquired locally.

3.7.2. The monetary regions

The hoards from England give good evidence of the coins in circulation in the northern regions during the first part of Edgar's reign, while hoards from outside England give some evidence for the remaining period. For the south the information that the hoards can provide is virtually nil, and the stray finds are crucial here, although they are few. Together they show that, in the respective areas, the circulation of coins was almost exclusively confined to coins struck by mints in the region, though more than one type may have been struck in the region at any given time. It is thus clear that there existed a number of monetary regions that were self-sufficient as regards coins, and that the coins in circulation were limited to those struck within the region. The hoards from Tetney (BI 141) and Chester 1857 (BI 153) provide striking examples of how alien coins were effectively excluded from circulation.

The conditions in Northumbria and the north-east prove that it was possible to strike more than one type within a monetary region at the same time. Wessex is probably a parallel, although the lack of hoards from the area make it difficult to assess conditions in detail.

The distribution of the monetary regions is shown in fig. 3.13. The boundaries of some monetary regions are uncertain, and will remain so in anticipation of further evidence from hoards and stray finds. The present attempt to survey the monetary regions is based on a division of England into at least six regions.

1) The north-east, including Northumbria
This region comprises all the English shires north of the Humber as well as three situated south of the Humber, Leicestershire, Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire. The composition of the Tetney hoard (BI 141) indicates an extremely restricted region. The only sign of influence from outside is provided by the Trefoil/annulet-cross-annulet variety of the Two-line type with connection to Chester. As it is known from just a single coin not much weight can be given to it.

2a) North-west I
The small but important area of Cheshire with Chester as the sole mint, had early links with central Mercia and Derby/Tamworth through the use of common types. The composition of the Chester 1950 hoard (BI 144) does not, however, point to an active mix of coins as a result of this link. The hoards from outside England indicate that there was a higher degree of mixing during the latter part of Edgar's reign. As the assumed parallel development of the types in the three areas weakens in the middle part of the reign and then grows stronger between Chester and Derby/Tamworth, the evidence is not conclusive.

2b) North-west II
Derby and Tamworth were the active mints in this area, which comprised Derbyshire and the south-eastern half of Staffordshire. It was linked with Chester, but showed independent features for a period in the middle of the reign, when links with central Mercia were perhaps stronger. The somewhat ambiguous evidence would point to Chester and Derby/Tamworth as one monetary region.

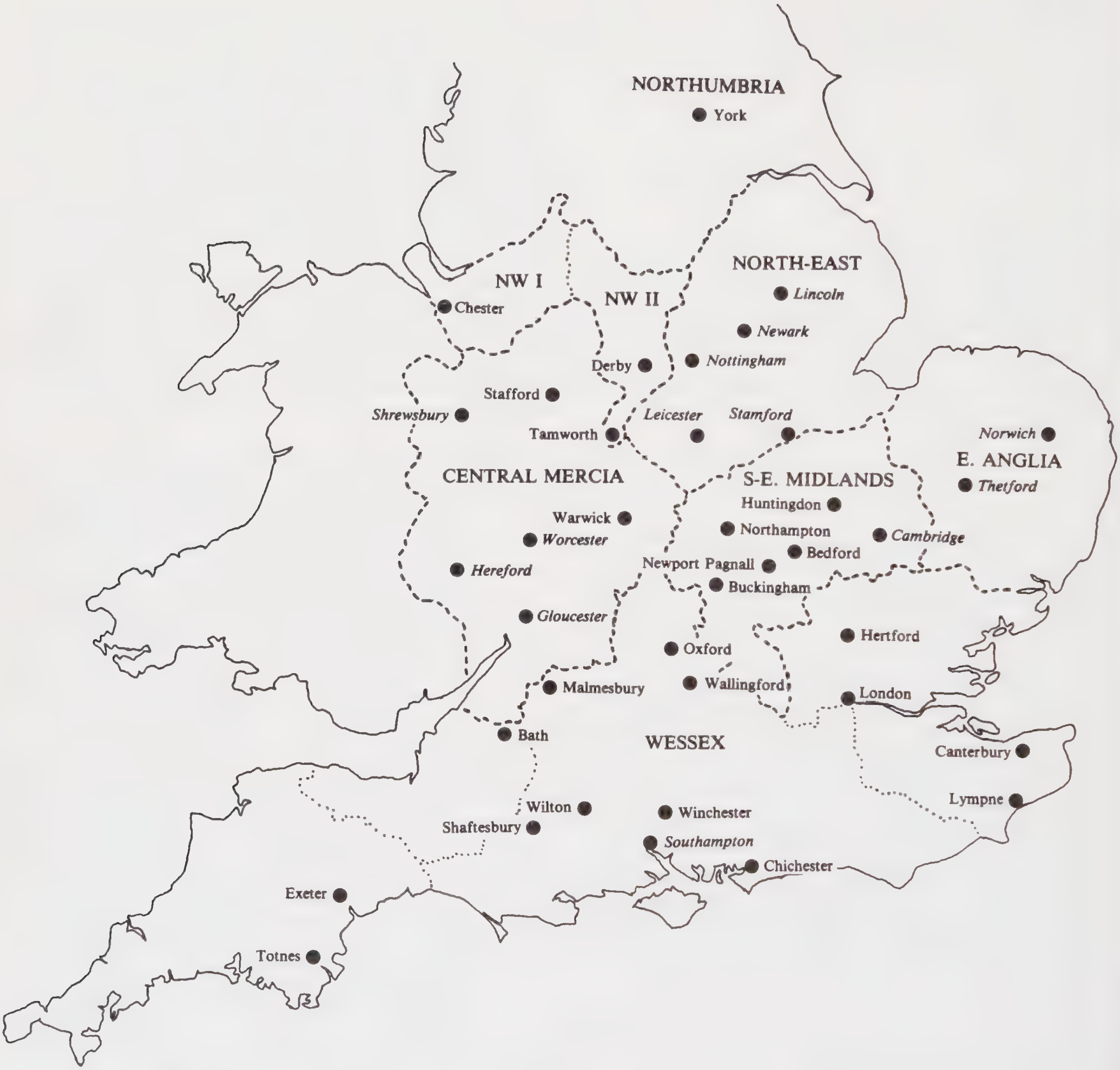

NORTHUMBRIA
York
NW I
Chester
NW II
NORTH-EAST
Lincoln
Newark
Derby
Nottingham
Stafford
Shrewsbury
Tamworth
Leicester
Stamford
Norwich
E. ANGLIA
Thetford
CENTRAL MERCIA
S-E. MIDLANDS
Huntingdon
Warwick
Worcester
Northampton
Cambridge
Bedford
Newport Pagnall
Hereford
Buckingham
Gloucester
Hertford
Oxford
Wallingford
Malmesbury
London
Bath
WESSEX
Canterbury
Lympne
Wilton
Winchester
Shaftesbury
Southampton
Chichester
Exeter
Totnes

Fig. 3.13. The mints and the monetary regions during Edgar's pre-reform period (probable or potential mints are rendered in italics).

3) Central Mercia
This region consisted of Herefordshire, Shropshire, Warwickshire, Worcestershire, and the north-western half of Staffordshire. During the first phase it was connected with Chester and Derby/Tamworth through common types, but they may have been of marginal effect. The evidence is thin, but central Mercia was in effect probably a separate monetary region. Support of such a view may be found in the development of local varieties of the Two-line type within the area.

4) East Anglia
A region with two counties, Norfolk and Suffolk. Internal information is limitied to stray finds and further judgment must be based on information from

outside. As two coins from the area are found as strays in the south-east Midlands some contacts with that area are indicated. It is, however, difficult to determine if these contacts affected the coin circulation within East Anglia.

5) South-east Midlands
This region, which comprised Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Cambridgeshire, Huntingdonshire, and Northamptonshire, could in principle be a part of Wessex. The Three-line type of Edwig would certainly indicate that this area and Wessex belonged to the same monetary region. Stray finds show connection with East Anglia while the types, based on the interpretations of the coinage made here, indicate an early link with the north-east and a later link with Wessex. Its position as a border area is probably decisive in this respect, and perhaps indicates that it was more of an open region with contacts in many directions and hence not really a monetary region of its own. Any suggestions of this kind must, however, remain speculative.

6) Wessex
Although evidence from hoards is non-existent, there are a number of indications as to the pattern of this region. The Circumscription Cross type must have been struck throughout the region, but evidently not at the same time everywhere. In south-western Wessex it appears to have been the sole type, while in central Mercia there was also a very brief initial Two-line coinage. In London the Crowned Bust type appears to have been the most important type. It is, however, difficult to assess the various areas as the available information is very limited, and the interpretations must remain somewhat speculative. Wessex should, however, on balance provisionally be regarded as one monetary region, although more than one type was used concurrently.

There remains the attempt to explain the reasons for the monetary regions. It may be that they were a result of a deliberate policy, which only allowed certain coins to circulate, or that they were due to a natural restriction based on natural borders, kinship, trading tradition etc. Blunt had discerned the existence of a regional pattern in the coinage of Athelstan [Blunt 1974]. The areas that he was able to distinguish show many similarities to the ones that can be shown to have existed during the pre-reform coinage of Edgar. Blunt emphasized the connections with the former kingdoms. The roots with the past were no doubt the determining factor behind the regional divisions which for so long promoted internal communications at all levels but acted as a restraint on external contacts. In a system of this kind the monetary regions followed borders that had been set by other factors long before. The turmoil of the Viking invasions can, however, be shown to have created new regions, wherever the Viking settlements were strong enough to change deeply rooted internal links.

Although the king in name exercised the supreme power throughout England, his power was in effect to a large extent limited to Wessex [Stafford 1978A, 21]. In the provinces the ealdormen, who were appointed by the king although the tendency towards a hereditary position was gradually developing [Keynes 1980, 197, note 163; Stafford 1978A, 17], had the real power even though it was formally exercised in the name of the king. In the days of Alfred it appears to have been usual for each shire in Wessex to have one ealdorman. Although there were changes from time to time, the ealdordoms in Wessex during the latter half of the tenth century were reduced to West Wessex, Hampshire, Sussex, and Essex. East Anglia at the same time had one ealdorman, Northumbria one (or more?), while Mercia had one or more.

The possible significance of the ealdormen in a numismatic context during Æthelred II has been discussed by Stafford. For the pre-reform period she connects the introduction of the Crowned Bust type in East Anglia in c. 933 with the ealdorman Athelstan ('Half-King') of East Anglia as a sign of loyalty and a reflection of the West Saxon origin of the family. She also notes that the type continued into Edmund's reign as did the family holding of the ealdormanry, since the office remained in the family from 932 to 992 [Stafford 1978B, 37]. Her point is made even stronger by the fact that the Crowned Bust type was not replaced in East Anglia until the reform in c. 973.

The boundaries of the ealdordoms and the term of office of the ealdormen are not as clear for the remainder of England during the tenth century as they are for East Anglia, which shows a remarkable stability. In general, though, the borders were along the lines of the old kingdoms, whereby the ealdormen can be seen as successors to the thrones, and upholders of the customs, the traditions, and the self-rule of the old kingdoms.

In view of the regional character of the pre-reform coinage of Edgar, a connection with the ealdormen becomes natural, as the ealdormen represented the highest authority in the greater part of England. Even in Wessex itself, the evidently disparate development of the coinage could be due to an influence from the ealdormen, who (including Essex) numbered four in this period. The progressive unification of the coinage, noticeable in Wessex as the time of the reform approached, would then reflect the growing personal influence of Edgar in the south as he grew older.

The coinage as a royal prerogative would be reduced to a formality in large parts of England, if the coinage in effect to a large extent was connected to the ealdordoms. The lack of unity within the coinage certainly indicates the lack of a firm grip over the coinage. The new mints which opened following the reconquest of the areas under Viking domination must have been created on the direct order of the king. It is possible that a progressive shift in the control of the mints started when the reconquest was completed and the king was in a position to enjoy a peaceful rule based in Wessex. The strong or weak rule of individual kings could of course also affect the coinage in the provinces. A development noticeable for instance in the north-west during Edgar indicates that changes were taking place in some areas. This should, however, not be regarded as anything but marginal, and the basic regional structure of the coinage which preceded the reform no doubt remained firm; with the reform, however, things would change drastically.

3.7.3. The date of deposit of the hoards

When Dolley listed the hoards from the British Isles in a chronological order [Dolley 1966], they were assigned provisional dates of deposit, and usually in groups. In their up-dated list (BI), Blackburn and Pagan [Blackburn & Pagan 1986] have made corrections in the dates of deposit for some finds besides adding a large number of finds while deleting a few.

For the period covered here the analysis undertaken above has shown that it is possible to arrange the hoards in a detailed relative order. It is of course much more difficult to transform this relative chronology into an absolute chronology. As has been indicated many times above, the last period before the reform is very poorly documented in the hoards, and in each of the late hoards this period is limited to a very small number of coins. The lack of hoard evidence for phase three in Northumbria is also an indication that the last few years before the reform are not covered at all in the hoards. In the south, as well, very few of the coins attributed to phase three have a hoard provenance. The export of coins must hence have been very limited during this period, or there was an internal change in the areas to which the coins were exported, to the effect that they were no longer left in the ground. The latter view is less attractive as the late coins in all of the late hoards are so few, even in the hoards deposited during the post-reform period. This situation is, however, not unexpected in view of the fact that there is not a single hoard found in the British Isles outside England that ends with coins of the Reform issue. The Welwyn hoard in England itself of course has no bearing on this problem. Judging from the composition of the hoards the change does not come like a bolt from the blue but seems to have occurred progressively. It can be estimated that a peak period of export ended at c. 965, followed by a fairly rapid decline to c. 970, after which time the export was extremely low or entirely came to a halt. It would not seem possible to move the latter date much in either direction without creating problems for the chronology.

Based on this interpretation an attempt has been made below to assign approximate dates of deposit to the hoards where information concerning the composition is available, although it is very limited in some cases. Hoards where practically no information exists are excluded, as are the post-reform hoards. It must be emphasized, however, that the actual date of deposit can differ substantially from the date given here, as the result is to a high degree connected with the number of specimens in a given hoard, and the chance of including coins of the latest issue in circulation increases as the number of coins in the hoard increases. Too often attempts have been made to associate the deposit of a hoard with a known historical event. This line of speculation will no doubt often lead to the wrong conclusions, and no effort has been made here to use that approach.

BI	Find spot	Region	
143	Ballaqueeny	M	c. 963
148	York	E	c. 963
141	Tetney	E	c. 965
144	Chester 1950	E	c. 965
145	Ireland	I	c. 965
147	Smarmore	I	c. 965
150	Bangor	W	c. 965
161	Bullock no. 1	I	c. 965
152	Burt	I	c. 967
153	Chester 1857	E	c. 967
155	Kirk Andreas	M	c. 967
164	Derrykeighan	I	c. 967
166	Glendalough	I	c. 967
169	Port Glasgow	S	c. 967
170	Co. Kilkenny	I	c. 967
163	Dalkey	I	c. 970
165	Ballaquale	M	c. 970
168	Machrie	S	c. 970
171	Tiree	S	c. 970

3.7.4. Did Edgar strike coins in his own name in 957-9?

The division of England in 957 meant that Edgar became 'king of the Mercians', which for practical purposes meant all land north of the Thames, while Edwig remained king in Wessex, until his death in 959, when Edgar became king of all England [Keynes 1985B].

Since Edwig was king for two years north of the Thames, as against four years south of the Thames, it would be logical to find this situation reflected in the coinage. This is, however, not the case, judging from the surviving coins, of which the greater part belong to the north [Archibald & Blunt 1986, xxi-xxii]. The implication is that Edgar did not strike coins in his own name during this period, but that Edwig's name continued to be used on the coins in the north until his death. As all the hoards are limited to covering the coinage in the north, the possibility of comparing the coinage in the south and in the north is virtually non-existent. The only possible approach to the problem would appear to be a comparison of the coinage during Edwig and Edgar struck in the north.

If it is limited to Northumbria, the Tetney hoard (BI 141) contains 54 coins struck during Edwig by the moneyers Æscwulf (4) and Hereger (50), as opposed to 119 struck during Edgar by the moneyers Æscwulf (7), Durand (13), and Hereger (99). This gives a ratio of 1:2.20. In the publication of the Iona hoard, which has a large element of early coins, the corresponding figures are 13 for Edwig; Æswulf (2) and Hereger (11), compared to 30 for Edgar; Æscwulf (4), Durand (3), and Hereger (23). The ratio here is 1:2.30, i.e. very close to the ratio in the Tetney hoard.

If the ratios are converted to years based on a coinage covering four years for Edwig (955-9), the coinage of Edgar would last for nine years (959-68). If on the other hand only two years are allowed for Edwig's coinage (955-7), the coinage of Edgar would last for four and a half years (957-61/2). Since the dates are known for the death of Edred (23 November 955) and the death of Edwig (1 October 959), and the approximate date for the agreement in 957 (summer), it would be possible to get even more detailed figures, but since the first and the last date fall at the end of the year and the intervening date is approximate, it will not lead any further. Allowance must of course also be made for new dies to be cut etc.

More important is that in the figures above, no consideration has been given to the effect of wastage. The indications are that it was large, but it is hard to convert this to figures. An annual wastage rate of 20% would mean that coins that were 10 years old or more would constitute 10% of the coins in circulation, given that the coinage was of equal size every year. Based on this rate the Two-line coinage of Edgar in Northumbria would cover the period 959-63, if Edwig's coinage covered the period 955-9. This sounds very appealing, but if the test is expanded to incorporate the coins of Northumbria from Edred, who ruled for nine years, the theoretical number of coins would be 30 in the Tetney hoard – but there are in fact only 8. Based on Edred's nine year rule (corresponding to 8 coins), Edwig would have ruled for eight years (corresponding to 54 coins). It is evident that the wastage rate varied from year to year, and/or that the coinage was not of equal size from year to year, and/or that the Tetney hoard does not give a good reflection of the coins in circulation.

If the comparison is not limited to Northumbria the ratio is 1:3.80 for all the (north-eastern) coins of Edwig and Edgar in the Tetney hoard. Given that Edwig struck coins in the north in 955-9, and the wastage rate was 20%, the Tetney hoard would have been deposited in 965, which is the date suggested above.

If the evidence in the north-west in the Chester 1857 hoard (BI 153) is used for comparison, however, the result is different. Of the 43 surviving coins, 3 belong to Edred, 1 to Edwig, and 39 to Edgar. Based on an annual wastage rate of 20% the hoard was deposited in 975 if Edwig struck coins in 955-9 and in 970 if Edwig only struck coins in 955-7. Neither figure is attractive, and if just a single more coin of Edwig was present the figures would look much different. If the estimated figures for the original hoard of 4 coins for Edwig and 66 for Edgar are used, the date of deposit for the hoard will be 970/1 if Edwig struck coins in 955-9, and 966/7 if Edwig struck coins in 955-7. The latter is clearly the more attractive choice.

Under normal circumstances the Chester 1950 hoard (BI 144) would have been perfect for a comparison, but in view of its non-typical composition it must be excluded from the discussion.

The proportions of coins (nearly all from the north) of Edred (946-55) and Edwig in the hoards outside England give an average ratio of 2:1. Based on a wastage rate of 20% this suggests that Edwig struck coins for two years, but if the wastage rate was 10%, which is more likely, Edwig would have struck coins for four years. If a probable increase in the volume of the coin export is taken into consideration, the length of Edwig's coinage would be reduced.

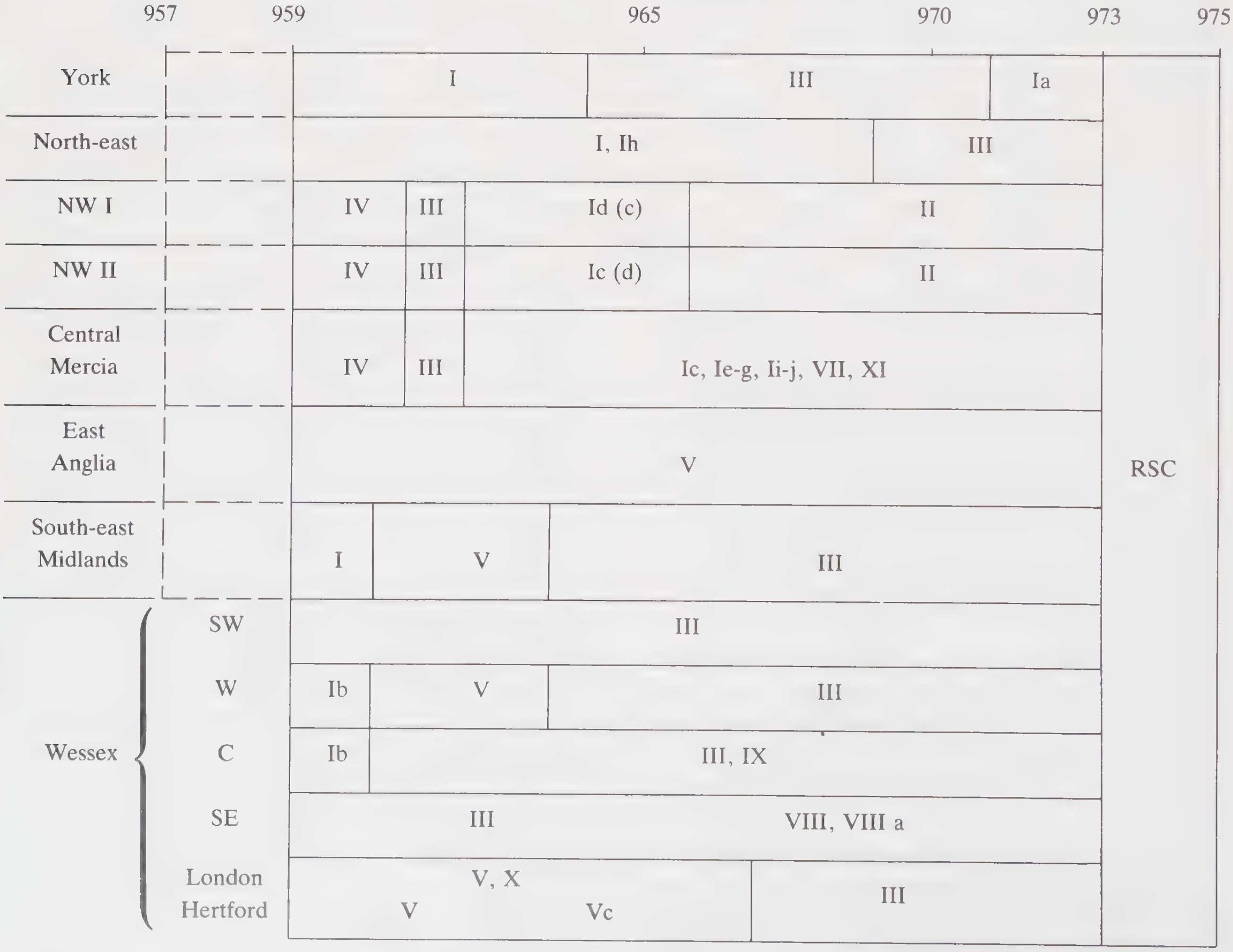
It is obvious that it is not possible at present to reach a definite answer to the question of whether Edgar struck coins in his own name in 957-9. Based on the Tetney hoard and an annual wastage rate of 20%, the answer must be that he did not, but based on the Chester 1857 hoard and the same wastage rate it appears that he did. The non-English hoards might allow both interpretations. What is required to solve the problem is apparently a detailed study, including a die-study, of the coinage in the north during Edgar, Edwig and perhaps Edred. Based solely on the presently available information, pending a detailed study of the coinages, the main obstacle to 957 as the inception of Edgar's coinage is the apparent huge size of Edwig's Northumbrian coinage.

3.7.5. The chronology of the types

Table 3.10 summarizes the conclusions and suggestions made above for thee chronology of the types in the different areas. It is based on the presumption that the coinage is confined to the period 959 to c. 973. The possibility of a coinage during 957-9 in the areas north of the Thames is indicated, but if real the proposed chronology up to the reform would have to be adjusted accordingly.

The hoards allow a detailed relative chronological order for the coinage at York, the north-east, Chester, and Derby and Tamworth, as well as for central Mercia. In the south-east Midlands the first Two-line issue is based on indications, and the order of the remaining types is based on hoard evidence. The hoard evidence is very limited for Wessex. In the central part a Two-line variety must have been struck in the early phase, but whether it also included other areas is uncertain. The Crowned Bust type is very limited and fairly early in the west, and it was probably not struck in the central part. In London and at Hertford the Crowned Bust type was probably struck during the early and middle part of the reign, and towards the end it was succeeded by the Circumscription Cross type. In central Wessex the Circumscription Cross issue is likely to have dominated and continued up to the reform.

Making comparisons between the phases in the different regions is somewhat more difficult, as the effects of the monetary regions will have to be considered. The absolute chronology is based on the composition of the hoards, in order that the presence of types from different areas in any given hoard should match the suggested date of deposit as well as the proposed chronology for the individual types.



957
959
965
970
973
975

York	I	III	Ia		RSC
North-east	I, Ih	III			RSC
NW I	IV	III	Id (c)	II	RSC
NW II	IV	III	Ic (d)	II	RSC
Central Mercia	IV	III	Ic, Ie-g, Ii-j, VII, XI		RSC
East Anglia	V				RSC
South-east Midlands	I	V	III		RSC
Wessex SW	III				RSC
Wessex W	Ib	V	III		RSC
Wessex C	Ib	III, IX			RSC
Wessex SE	III	VIII, VIII a			RSC
Wessex London Hertford	V, X V, Vc	III			RSC

Table 3.10. The types struck in the different areas, and their relative and absolute chronology. Wessex: SW – south-west, W – west, C – central, SE – south-east.

As has been made clear in the analysis of the material above the hoard evidence for the southern areas is exceptionally poor. For these areas it is necessary to consult the text with reference to the individual types.

3.7.6. Mints and moneyers

The attempt made below to attribute every type and variety for the individual moneyers is based on the analysis made above. It must, however, be emphasized that the material is too meagre to allow the evidence to be satisfactory in every individual case, and it may even sometimes be conflicting. In those cases the most logical solution has been chosen. Following the analysis made above each area is divided into three phases. The types are denoted according to BMC (see section 3.2 above). In some cases a given type may have been struck during more than one phase. The division is then based on the more detailed chronology suggested above. If no detailed chronology is suggested the attributions of individual moneyers to the different phases will be based on the number of recorded specimens and other relevant information. It is, however, unavoidable that a large element of chance will be involved in the process. On some occasions a question-mark has been used. The types and varieties struck in the different areas are illustrated in plates 3.1-2, and the mints are shown in fig. 3.13.

The coverage of the hoards is best for the five northernmost areas, and the hoards should therefor be able to reflect the term of office of the moneyers. Hence, for these five areas the moneyers are arranged in groups depending on the phase in which they are first recorded. It is also noted if the name of the moneyer is found on coins of Edwig (or Edred as a second choice), but this has not affected how the moneyers are grouped within Edgar.

The names of a large number of moneyers appear in more than one area, and the name of the moneyer is then denoted with a '*', to indicate that the name is also to be found in another area. This is not in conflict with the evidence for the post-reform period where the same name is often found at adjacent or far away mints for the same type. No attempt, however, has been made to try to establish when it concerns two or more individuals, and when it concerns one moneyer who has simply moved about.

Wessex

This large region was different from the others because the use of a mint-signature was much more common there. A small number of coins, however, were struck by moneyers that cannot readily be attributed to a given mint. In some cases the area in which the coin was struck, as judgded by the style, has been noted [Dolley 1962E]. For a discussion on the location of 'Weardborough' see Wessex under the Circumscription Cross type above.

The mints active in the region that are not known from mint-signed coins could include Dorchester, Dover, Langport, Lewes, Maldon, Rochester, and Wareham.

		Pre-Edgar	1	2	3
Bath	Æthelferth*	–	–	–	III
	Æthelric	–	–	–	III
	Æthelsige*	–	–	–	III
	Beorhtwulf	–	Ib	V	–
	Beornferth*	–	–	–	III
	Wulfbeald	–	–	–	III
Canterbury	Boga*	–	–	III	–
Chichester	Cynesige	–	–	–	III
	Flodwin	–	–	–	III
	–	–	–	–	IX
Exeter	Ead Ælfstan	–	III	–	–
	Mangod	–	III	–	–
	Regenold?	–	III	–	–
Hertford	Abenel	Edwig	V	–	–
	Beornferth* (He?)	–	V	Vc	–
	Manna*	Edwig	–	Vc	–

	Wulfmœr	Edwig	V	Vc	–
London	Ælfnoth	–	–	V	III
	Æthelferth*	–	–	V	–
	Æthelrœd*	–	V	V	III
	Æthelsige*	–	–	–	III
	Æthelweald	–	–	–	III
	Æthelwulf*	Edwig	V	–	–
	Beorhtsige	–	–	V	–
	Hildwine	–	–	V	–
	–	–	–	X	–
Lympne	Beorhtnoth*	–	–	VIII	–
Malmesbury	Wulfric	–	–	–	III
Oxford	Æthelwine*	–	–	–	III
	Leofsige*	–	–	–	III
	Seleweald	–	–	–	III
	Wulfstan*	–	–	III	–
	Wynhelm	Edwig	–	–	III
Shaftesbury	Leofstan*	–	–	III	–
Totnes	Wynstan*	Edwig	III	–	–
Wallingford	Beorhtric*	–	–	III	–
	Eadwine	–	–	–	III
	Heremod*	Edwig	–	III	III
'Weardburh'	Ælfstan*	–	–	III	–
	Æthelferth*	–	–	III	–
Wilton	Boga	–	–	–	III
	Eadstan*	–	–	–	III
	Leofsige*	–	–	–	III
	Leofweald	–	–	–	III
	Osbern	–	–	–	III
Winchester	Ælfsige*	–	–	III	III
	Æthelstan*	–	–	III	–
	Deall	–	–	–	III
	Eadstan*	–	–	III	III
	Freothumund	–	–	III	–
	Rodbert	–	–	–	III
	Wihtsige	–	–	III	–
	Wulfsige	–	–	–	III
	Wynsige	–	–	–	III
	–	–	XII	–	–
Mint?	Æthelsige* (SW)	–	–	–	III
	Beorhtferth* (SW)	–	–	–	III
	Beorhtnoth* (SW)	–	–	–	III
	Beorhtric*	–	Ib	–	–
	Beor(n/ht)ferth	–	Ib	–	–
	Burhstan* (Southampton?)	–	–	III	–
	Siduman*	–	Ib	–	–
	Wihtmund	–	–	III	–
	...bold (SE?)	–	–	VIIIa	–

East Anglia (Norwich – N, and Thetford? – T)

The Crowned Bust type was evidently the only type struck in the area, and the moneyers are associated with it through the use of a common, rather coarse style. The moneyers that have no reference to a mint probably operated at Norwich. Coins of a very different style have been attributed to a mint at Thetford, though the indications for its existence are not altogether convincing.

	Pre-Edgar	1	2	3
Æthelferth* (T?)	–	–	V	–
Asfrith*	–	–	V	–
Boga*	–	–	V	–
Bruning	Edred	–	V	–
Folcard (N)	–	–	V	–
Manna* (N)	Edred	–	V	–
Manticen (N)	Edred	–	V	–
Nordbert (N)	Edred	–	V	–
Saydtinc	–	–	V	–
Sprok	–	–	V	–
Thorketill	–	–	V	–

South-east Midlands (Bedford – Be, Buckingham – Bu, Cambridge – C, Huntingdon – Hu, Newport Pagnall – Ne, and Northampton – No)

A majority of the moneyers that have been assigned to this area can be connected with individual mints either from mint-signed coins or with the help of coins from the Reform issue. Winebeorht is one of the exceptions, and he has also previously been attributed to Exeter with a query [Archibald & Blunt 1986, no. 1149].

	Pre-Edgar	1	2	3
Adelbrand (No)	Edwig	–	V	–
Ælfsige* (Be)	Edwig?	I?	V	?
Ælfsige* (Ne)	Edwig?	I?	–	III
Æthelrœd*	–	I	–	–
Æthelstan*	–	I	–	–
Albert? (C?)	–	–	V	–
Baldric (No)	Edwig	–	–	III
Baldwin (Be)	Edwig	–	V	–
Brother	–	I	–	–
Burhstan*	–	–	V	–
Dudman (No)	Edwig	–	–	III
Duding (Hu?)	Edwig	–	V	–
Eadmœr	–	–	V	–
Eadwulf (No)	Edwig	–	–	III
Eoforheard*	Edwig	–	–	III
Forthgar (Be)	–	–	V	–
Godfrid	Edwig	I	–	–
Ginard (No)	–	–	–	III
Grimr* (Be)	Edwig	I	V	III
Heardbeorht (No?)	–	–	–	III
Leofhelm (No)	Edwig	–	–	III
Leofstan* (Be)	Edwig	–	V	–
Martin*	–	I	–	–
Mantat (No)	–	–	V	III
Osweald (No?)	Edwig	–	–	III
Prim (Hu)	–	–	V	–
Radulf (No)	–	–	–	III
Regenfrid	–	–	–	III
Sigeferth*	Edwig	I	V	–
Sprok	–	–	V	–
Thorfrithr* (No)	Edwig	–	–	III
Tunwulf (Bu)	–	–	V	III
Warin (No)	Edwig	–	–	III
Wine	–	–	–	III
Winebeorht	–	–	V	–
Wulfstan*	Edwig	I	V	III

The north-east (Leicester – Le, Lincoln – Li, Newark – Ne, Nottingham, and Stamford – S)

This is an area that is extremely well documented in the hoards during phase one and two. Lincoln and Stamford must by far have been the most prolific mints, though the moneyers that can be connected with them, based on names known in the Reform issue, are not that many. One moneyer (Ingolfr) can with the same approach be associated with Newark. The remaining possible mints that can belong to the area are Leicester, Northampton, and Nottingham. Mint-signed coins of quite a different style are known in the Circumscription Cross type from Northampton, which would exclude it from the north-east area. Leicester and Nottingham would, from a historical point of view be easier to tie to Derby. In the coinage of Athelstan, Blunt was able to show that these three mints together with Tamworth, were connected [Blunt 1974, 93]. The reason why the same grouping has not been followed here, is that neither Leicester nor Nottingham are known from mint-signed coins of either the Circumscription Cross, the Circumscription Rosette, or the Three-line type. It is hard to imagine that they would not have struck coins of any of these types, if they in fact were connected with Derby and Tamworth. It is of course possible that they struck coins without a mint-signature of the first two types, while it is pure chance that none has survived from the last type. In such a case, however, there is very little to choose from, as only the moneyers Eoforheard and Wilsige (here assumed to belong to Chester), or Daniel and Frodald (here assumed to belong to central Mercia) are possible candidates. Removing a sufficient number of moneyers from this group would also mean a depletion in those areas. The evidence must surely point to Leicester and Nottingham as part of the north-east group, where there are plenty of unallocated moneyers, even though this would constitute a break with the pattern that prevailed during Athelstan.

The name of the moneyer which is normalized as Winemœr [Feilitzen & Blunt 1971, 206] is consistently spelt 'WINENR' on the coins and no entirely satisfying explanation has been offered to it. The apparently sole surviving coin attributed to Edgar and struck by the moneyer Ingalbert, in the Tetney hoard, has an obverse legend reading 'EADGDREX'. This is the only Edgar moneyer in the hoard which is not also found in any other hoard. It is included here with some reserve [See also comment above in connection with the Trefoil/three crosses variety].

In a few cases where the style is crucial to the attribution it has not been possible to obtain an illustration, and hence the attribution will be speculative.

	Pre-Edgar	1	2	3
Acwulf	Edwig	I	–	–
Adalaver (Li)	–	I	I	–
Æscman (Li/S)	–	I	I	–
Æthelferth*	–	I	–	–
Æthelwine*	–	I	I	–
Albutc	–	I	I	–
Benedictus	–	I	I	–
Beornferth*	–	I	–	–
Eanwulf (Li)	Edwig	I	I	–
Farthegn (Li)	–	I	I	–
Grith	–	I	I	III
Hacuf	–	I	I	–
Herebeorht	–	I	–	–
Hereman	–	I	?	–
Ifa	Edwig	I	I	–
Igenc	–	I	–	–
Ingalbert*	–	I	–	–
Ingolfr (Ne)	–	I	I	–
Isenbert	–	I	I	–
Kaupman	–	I	I	–
Leofing* (Li)	Edwig	I	I	III
Maccus	–	I	I	–
Mamo	Edwig	I	?	–
Manna* (S)	Edwig	I	I	–
Manning	–	I	–	–
Morgna	–	I	I	–
Siduman*	–	I	–	–
Ubeinn (Li)	–	I	I	–
Wigferth	--	I	I	III?
Winemœr?(*)	–	I	?	–
Adalger	–	–	I	–
Aden	–	–	I	–
Ælfweald (S)	–	–	I	–
Æthelhelm*	–	–	I	–
Æthelsige*	–	–	I	–
Æthelweard	–	–	I	–
Æthelwulf	–	–	I	–
Ana	–	–	I	–
Andreas	–	–	I	–
Asfrith* (Le)	–	–	I	III
Beorhtferth*	–	–	I	–
Beornwulf	–	–	I	–
Cawelin	–	–	I	–
Cnapa (S)	–	–	I	–
Eoforwulf*	–	–	I	–
Farman	–	–	I	–
Fugolta	–	–	I	–
Gundfrid	Edwig	–	I	–
Hild (St)	–	–	I	–
Hildulfr*	–	–	I	–
Hunrœd	Edred	–	I, Ih	–
Landferth*	–	–	I	–
Lenna	–	–	I	–
Ogeman	–	–	I	–
Randwin	–	–	I	–
Reinard	–	–	I	–
Riculf (S)	–	–	I	–
Smala	–	–	I	–
Wynstan*	–	–	I	–
Ingalfred	–	–	–	III

Central Mercia (Gloucester, Hereford, Shrewsbury, Stafford – St, Warwick – Wa, and Worcester?)

In many ways this is an obscure area as only two coins are known with a mint-signature. The remaining moneyers are either assigned to this area because they can be tied to the rich assortment of Two-line varieties that must have been struck in the area, or because they would not seem to fit in anywhere else (with the exception of some moneyers that probably belong to Derby and Tamworth). The former group is most interesting, but it is not possible to say anything more about it without making a detailed study. Whether there was a mint at Worcester in this period must remain uncertain. No division of phase two and three has been attempted here, as the hoard evidence upon which a division must be based covers such a small part of the material.

The Two-line Rosette/three crosses variety struck by Manna could alternatively be attributed to Derby. The name of the moneyer normalized as Winemœr [Feilitzen & Blunt 1971, 206] is spelt 'WINEMES' on both of the known varieties.

	Pre-Edgar	1a	1b	2-3
Amundr (St)	Edwig	IV	–	–
Daniel	–	IV	–	–
Frodald	–	IV	–	–
Hildulfr*	–	IV	–	XI
Osweard (Wa)	–	–	III	Ic
Oswine	–	–	III	XI
Ælfstan*	–	–	–	Ic
Æthelrœd*	–	–	–	Ic, Ig
Æthelwine*	–	–	–	Ii
Æthelwulf*	Edwig	–	–	Ic
Asfrith*	–	–	–	Ic, Ig
Asleikr	–	–	–	Ig
Beorhtferth*	–	–	–	If
Dominicus	Edwig	–	–	Ic
Grimbert?	–	–	–	Ic
Heremod*	–	–	–	Ie
Hreitharr	Edwig	–	–	Ic
Ingalbert*	–	–	–	Ic
Ingalric	–	–	–	Ic
Landferth*	Edwig	–	–	Ic, If
Leofhelm*	–	–	–	Ic
Leofing*	–	–	–	Ic, Ii
Leofman	–	–	–	Ic
Manna*	Edwig	–	–	Ic, If, Ig, Ij
Meinard	–	–	–	Ii
Osweald	Edwig	–	–	VII
Rœdwine	–	–	–	Ic
Thorfrithr*	–	–	–	Ie
Uglubarthr	Edwig	–	–	Ic, Ig
Wine	–	–	–	If
Winemœr?(*)	–	–	–	Ic, If
Wulfgar*	Edred	–	–	Ic
Wulfstan	Edred	–	–	Ic
Wulfweard	–	–	–	Ic

North-west I (Chester)

The only mint in the area is Chester. For moneyers not otherwise known at the mint, the common tie in the beginning of Edgar's reign is the production of the Two-line Rosette/annulet-cross-annulet variety. The use of the Two-line Rosette/three crosses variety by three of the moneyers indicates some connection or interchange of moneyers with Derby and Tamworth. This connection is later manifested in the production of common types for the remaining part of the pre-reform period. See also North-west II below for the possibility of a Chester moneyer named Othilbert. In one of the published parcels from the Ballaquale hoard (BI 165) a Three-line penny by the moneyer Deorwulf is attributed to Chester [Grueber 1913, no. 23]. It is a fragment and the mint-signature is rendered as 'LE' (L upside-down), but in view of the fact that Deorwulf is otherwise only recorded for the type at Tamworth, the mint-signature is probably to be read 'TE' for Tamworth.

	Pre-Edgar	1a	1b	2	3
Ælfsige*	Edwig	IV	III	Id	II
Ælfstan*	–	IV	–	–	II
Eadmund	Edwig	IV	–	Id	II
Ealdwine	–	IV	–	Ic, Id	II
Freothuric	–	IV	III	Id	II
Gillys	–	IV	–	Id	II
Iorothr	Edwig	IV	III	Id	II
Thormothr	Edwig	IV	III	Id	II
Ælfrœd	Edwig	–	–	Ic, Id	II
Æthelhelm*	–	–	–	Id	II
Leofstan*	–	–	–	Ic, Id	II
Martin	–	–	–	Id	II
Teothic	–	–	–	Id	II
Authketill?	–	–	–	–	II
Boga*	–	–	–	–	II
Deorlaf	–	–	–	–	II
Durand*	–	–	–	–	II
Flodger	–	–	–	–	II
Mœlsudan	–	–	–	–	II
Manna*	–	–	–	–	II
Wulfgar*	–	–	–	–	II
Eoforheard* (Chester?)	Edwig	IV	–	–	–
Wilsige (Chester?)	Edwig	IV	–	–	–
Sigeferth* (Chester?)	–	IV	–	Id	–
Wœrstan (Chester?)	Edred	IV	–	Id	–
Ealhmund (Chester?)	–	–	–	Id	–
Freothuwulf (Chester?)	–	–	–	Id	–
Hrodulf (Chester?)	–	–	–	Id	–
Theodrœd (Chester?)	–	–	–	Id	–

North-west II (Derby – D and Tamworth – T)

All the moneyers in this group are either known from mint-signed coins, or they have names that can be associated with the mints with the help of coins of the Reform issue. No moneyers are attributed to Tamworth in the early phase but some are probably to be found among the moneyers attributed to the central Mercian group. The coins of the Two-line Rosette/annulet-cross-annulet variety struck by Gunnarr and Othilric are a sign of the beginning connection with Chester. The name of the latter, however, is possibly to be interpreted as Othilbert, in which case he is preferably assigned to Chester.

	Pre-Edgar	1a	1b	2	3
Asulfr (D)	–	IV	–	Ic	–
Boga* (D)	Edwig	IV	–	Ic	II
Fredic (D)	Edwig	IV	III	Ic	–
Ioli (D)	–	IV	–	Ic	–
Othilric (D)	Edred	IV	–	Ic, Id	–
Manna* (D)	–	IV	–	–	–
Berenhard (D)	Edwig	–	III	Ic	–
Gunnarr (D)	–	–	III	Ic, Id	–
Sigegar (D)	Edred	–	–	Ic	–
Grimr* (D)	–	–	–	–	II
Deorwulf (T)	Edwig	IV	III	Id	II
Eoformund (T)	–	IV	III	Ic	–
Spereman (T)	–	IV	–	–	–
Eoforwulf* (T)	–	–	–	–	II
Leofwine (T)	–	–	–	–	II
Manna* (T)	–	–	–	–	II

Northumbria (York)

York was the only mint in Northumbria, and this concentration made York one of the most important mints in the realm. The organization of the coinage was peculiar, as a triumvirate was in charge of the entire coinage in phase one and two. At the end of phase two, though, the name of Fastulfr is found on some coins together with either Boga, Hrafn, or Oda. A change occurs in the final phase before the reform, when five moneyers (and no doubt many more) were active. Later in the Reform and Hand issues, an almost incredible number of moneyers are known at York and this drastic change of affairs would seem to have begun with the final phase before the reform, but as to the reasons for the change it is only possible to speculate.

	Pre-Edgar	1	2	3
Æscwulf	Edwig	I	–	–
Durand*	–	I	III	–
Hereger	Edwig	I	III?	–
Fastulfr	–	–	III	–
Fastulfr Boga	–	–	III	–
Fastulfr Hrafn	–	–	III	–
Fastulfr Oda	–	–	III	–
Herewulf	–	–	III	Ia
Ælfstan	–	–	–	Ia
Kolgrimr	–	–	–	Ia
Serkrlauss	–	–	–	Ia
Sumarlithr	–	–	–	Ia

3.7.7. The size of the coinage

Even in the best of circumstances it can be difficult to estimate the size of a coinage. No die-study has ever been undertaken concerning the pre-reform coinage of Edgar, but some conclusions can be drawn from the available material. An account of the number of coins from the three phases in the different areas is given in table 3.11. The decreasing coin export from the northern areas in phase three is apparent from the figures, as they to a large extent are based on non-English hoards. It should be noted that phase three starts a few years earlier in the north-west and in the south-east Midlands compared to the other areas.

	1	2	3
Wessex (South-west)	2	5	
(West)	0	1	6
(Central)	4	10	19
(South-east)	0	3	
(London & Hertford)	16		5
East Anglia	21		
South-east Midlands	10	29	36
North-east	612		12
Central Mercia	9	44	
Chester	49	119	125
Derby and Tamworth	27	13	12
Northumbria	235	145	5

Table 3.11. The number of coins known from each area during the different phases in the hoards from the British Isles, increased by the known number of coins without a specific hoard provenance. In some areas the division between two phases is fluent.

The figures are a good illustration of the fact that no hoard to speak of has been found in southern England. As might be expected, an area like the south-east Midlands, bordering on both central Mercia and the north-east, is well represented.

In the absence of a proper die-study the published obverse legends of the York coins in the Tetney hoard can be used to calculate the number of dies. For the Two-line variety, the moneyers Æscwulf, Durand, and Hereger are represented by a total of 56 different obverse legends, which must correspond to at least as many dies. The total number of coins is 109. Using Good's formula the number of obverse dies used for the coinage would be 83. Assuming that 10,000 coins were struck from each pair of dies, the coinage would have consisted of 830,000 coins. The share of the coinage represented in the Tetney hoard is 109 out of a total of 235, which is equal to 46%. The same share of the Circumscription Cross coinage at York is equal to 67 coins, which in turn is equal to 81% of the number of estimated reverse dies of the Two-line variety. If the dies were represented in the same proportions it would be equal to 61% or an estimated 51 reverse dies which could have struck 510,000 coins. These calculations are likely to underestimate the true totals, as this phase is less well covered in the hoards. It is not meaningful to try to estimate the size of the coinage for the last period before the reform, c. 970-3, since only five specimens have survived. However, based on the figures calculated above, a total of 1,310,000 coins were struck at York in the period c. 959-70.

If the same approach is used for the north-eastern coinage south of the Humber the estimated number of reverse dies will be 214, which is equivalent to a coinage of 2,140,000, which is likely to underestimate the true total for the second phase of the coinage.

Corresponding figures for Chester for the period c. 959-73 are likely to be too low if compared to the Tetney hoard since the surviving coins would only indicate 81 reverse dies and 810,000 coins. The same is true for the estimated combined figures for Derby and Tamworth which result in only 18 reverse dies or 180,000 coins.

The grand total for the estimated figures above for the coinage in the north is 4,350,000; for the entire period of c. 959-73 a rough figure of 5,000,000 coins is probably closer to the true total. Since the surviving coins from the remainder of Mercia, the south-eastern Midlands, East Anglia, and Wessex are so few, it is not practicable to base estimates of the coinage on those figures. The number of stray finds from the south, and the fact that nearly every single coin from Wessex represents a unique moneyer/type combination, are clear indications of a very active coinage. Any estimates are bound to be speculative, and the suggestion made here is that it should account for 1.5-2.5 times the coinage in the north or between 7,500,000 and 12,500,000 coins. Edgar's total pre-reform coinage would then amount to between 12,500,000 and 17,500,000 coins.

3.7.8. Local recoinages?

The question of local recoinages has been briefly touched upon above on separate occasions. The reasons for raising this issue should be obvious: it is clear that England was divided into a number of monetary regions that would seem to have had a very limited exchange with one another. Under these circumstances there would have been no opposition to undertaking recoinages on a local level. It is generally believed that recoinages were no longer carried out after the introduction of the Two-line type by Alfred in c. 888, but the prospect of local recoinages in the following period up to the reform has evidently not been raised before. This may well be due to the fact that the hoards are concentrated to areas outside England, and would hence not reflect the situation in England. In the last few decades there have been discoveries of an increasing number of coins that have been restruck on older coins of different types [Blunt 1974, nos. 149, 266, 356, 369, and 499; Clough 1980, 32-3]. Such coins could also indicate that local recoinages were taking place.

For the pre-reform coinage of Edgar only the English hoards are relevant. In view of its irregular composition, the Chester 1950 hoard (BI 144) is not suitable for an investigation in this context. The Chester 1857 hoard (BI 153) on the other hand, is very interesting and covers the north-west. Based on the surviving parcel and contemporary accounts the hoard ends with a single coin of the Three-line type. The preceding Two-line annulet-cross-annulet variety accounts for the bulk of the coins, while Edgar's earlier types and the pre-Edgar pennies amount to a total of ten coins. The concentration in the hoard to a single type could reflect the effects of a recoinage. The coinage in north-eastern England for the period concerned gives an impression of stability up to the middle of Edgar's reign. The Tetney hoard (BI 141) dates to shortly after the end of this stable period, which is evidenced by the introduction of a new type in Northumbria. The new type could be the result of a local recoinage and a division of the north-eastern monetary region (see chapter 5). For central Mercia and the southern Danelaw there are no hoards which can give information as to whether the various types in the areas are linked to recoinages. The situation in the south is complicated, and if the interpretations of the coinage which are presented here are correct, developments in that area were not homogeneous. That would appear to exclude the possibility of local recoinages, so that Wessex is probably best regarded as a monetary region of a different kind (see chapter 5). There is also evidently a general trend in Wessex towards a unification at the end of the pre-reform period, but it is uncertain if this was connected with recoinages.

There are also some puzzling questions that must be raised. Why were types changed in the middle of a reign? Why was the wastage rate so high in northern England? Why are there no hoards from southern England? With a system of local recoinages the earlier issues would be swept away much quicker then would have been the case otherwise, and people would have been encouraged to keep their coins in circulation and not hoard them. Local recoinages would also have tended to restrict the circulation of coins to regions. As Wessex was the heartland of the king of England and hence the area where he could exercise his power to a greater extent than anywhere else, it would be the natural area for recoinages. With a pattern that could include local recoinages there would also be no dramatic revolution when the nationwide recoinage was undertaken at the end of Edgar's reign, but it would merely reflect an evolution that transformed a local event to a national event, though the implications of the monetary reform would have gone deeper than the obvious one, i.e. that it would have helped to break the barriers between the monetary regions. As the material available for an assessment of local recoinages is so poor, it is not possible, however, even to try to think of analysing the material based on the hypothesis put forward here, and the whole idea of local recoinages must remain highly theoretical and speculative.

4. THE NEW ERA – THE REFORM ISSUE

4.1. The development of the concept of the reform

A necessary first step towards our understanding of the pattern of the late Anglo-Saxon coinage consists in appreciating what was essential in this respect and what was less so. Hence it is important to begin with a survey of how Anglo-Saxon coins were listed and ordered when descriptions of them were published, and how this changed over time.

Excluding publications where individual coins were illustrated and described as part of other subjects, one of the first attempts to order Anglo-Saxon coins was made in 1708 by Keder, who listed them by types, moneyers, and mints [Keder 1708]. It set a standard for its time, which is reflected in the (unpublished) lists of public and private collections in Sweden for the remainder of the century. Hildebrand used the order of mint, moneyer, and type in his doctoral thesis [Hildebrand 1829], as well as in the two editions of his *Anglosachsiska mynt* [Hd 1846 and Hd (1881)]. The English publications dating from this period, by Ruding [Ruding 1840] and Hawkins [Hawkins 1841], do not include corresponding catalogues, and in the case of types, mints, and moneyers, they are listed separately, if included at all. The collection of the British Museum was published in 1887 by Grueber and Keary, whose order was novel, since the coins were listed by mint, type, and moneyer [BMC]. Finally, the collections in the *SCBI* series have since its start in 1958 been published by type, mint, and moneyer, with the exception of the collection in Copenhagen [Galster 1966 etc.], where the order follows Hd.

There is a logical pattern in the development of how Anglo-Saxon coins were listed, which to a very large extent reflects development in publishing techniques. When there were no illustrations to refer to, the type had to be made the highest order or the description of each type would have had to be constantly repeated. When it was possible to illustrate the types, the legends became the highest order, as it enabled instant comparison between legends to be made. Today, now that the principle that every single coin should be illustrated has been accepted, the natural comparison is that of style and dies, and hence the type, followed by mint and moneyer, is the order which best makes use of present technology in publishing.

Hildebrand was the first to assign a letter to each type, and he was also the first to attempt to order the types chronologically, although this is not stated explicitly. Even so, the Small Cross type of Æthelred II puzzled him, understandably enough, and made him believe that it was struck throughout the reign [Hd 1846, 23]. The final solution to the problem of the Small Cross type did not become apparent until 1955 [Dolley & Elmore Jones 1955].

Hildebrand's ordering of the types was a great breakthrough. Although he did not make any attempt to correct the order that he had once established, it is evident that he knew it to be wrong for some types. The major problem confronting the scholars in the 19th century was of course the abundance of types, and the difficulties in separating the English types from those struck elsewhere. Hildebrand had a mixed approach in this respect as well, as in the text he for example often states categorically that a certain type is Danish [Hd 1846 and Hd], although it is still included among the Anglo-Saxon coins. His inability to recognise that a mint rendered on a coin could be due to imitation, crippled his attempts to bring definitive order to the Anglo-Saxon series. He seems also not to have realized that some of his types were in fact mules. It is necessary, however, to appreciate that for most of the period in question Hildebrand had no hoards from England with which he could compare the hoards from Sweden, and this made his task almost impossible. Accordingly he never presented his views regarding each and every individual type, and hence did not make an attempt to see a pattern in the coinage.

In the Grueber and Keary catalogue of the collection in the British Museum, the presentation of the late Anglo-Saxon types was based on Hd, but each was given a Roman number instead [BMC]. The classification was also intended to show the chronological order.

Carlyon-Britton published a number of papers dealing with the types of the late Anglo-Saxon coinage. One paper published in 1905 gives an account of the coins of Edward the Confessor [Carlyon-Britton 1905]. He was the first to recognize that some of the previously published types and varieties were in fact mules. His revised order for these types is still valid except for one type. When he ordered the types he made use of the recorded mules as well as hoard context. He was also the first to try to suggest absolute dates for each type. The change of type was suggested to have occurred at Michaelmas. The first three substantive types were each struck for three years (the earliest type being transitional), while the remaining seven were each struck for two years.

A similar aattempt was made in 1910 by Parsons to revise the order which Hildebrand had suggested for the types of Æthelred II. Now only the English types were retained and the mules were recognized as such [Parsons 1910]. Some of his revisions and dates, however, were rejected by his contemporaries [Brooke 1910].

Alcenius died in 1913 at a time when his catalogue of Anglo-Saxon coins found in Finland was at the printer's, and as a consequence it was never published. What is known of it shows influence from Parsons. Alcenius was convinced that the individual types were successive, and the absolute dates that he assigned to the types covering the first part of Æthelred's reign come close to those used today, while others would today be firmly rejected. It was left to Nordman to conclude the project [Nordman 1921]. He divided the Small Cross issue of Æthelred II into one early and one late type (although he was not at the time aware of the composition of the Chester 1914 hoard), as opposed to Alcenius, who had assigned nearly all of them to a period between Crux and Long Cross. The correct pattern for the coinage during the reign of Æthelred II was now begining to emerge.

In 1914 a hoard with coins of the Reform issue and of the First Hand type was discovered at Chester. Its subsequent publication by Hill [Hill 1920], should once and for all have settled the dispute regarding the Small Cross issue of Æthelred II. In spite of the undeniable evidence of the existence of an early issue of Small Cross coins, some scholars remained doubtful [Parsons 1922, 47-50].

A new effort to bring the types of Edward the Martyr and Æthelred II into chronological order was made by Carlyon-Britton, who used the same approach as for his earlier paper on the types of Edward the Confessor. Although this paper brought more disorder than order to the types of Æthelred II, it remains important in one respect. A First Hand coin with the name of Edward the Martyr that had been regarded as his second type was finally exposed as a forgery, which meant that only the Small Cross type had been struck during the reign of Edward the Martyr [Carlyon-Britton 1922, 9]

In the 1920s Parsons reduced the types attributed to Cnut to five and proposed dates for them [Parsons 1924, 1928].

It was not until Wells published his paper about the Northampton and Southampton mints that the dispute connected with an early Small Cross type of Æthelred II (in favour of an early issue) was finally solved [Wells 1944].

In the early 1950s numismatists from many countries were invited to take part in the publication of the Swedish coin-finds from the Viking Age. This gave research into the late Anglo-Saxon coinage new impetus of a magnitude hitherto unseen. Not only was an exceptionally rich material with respect to number of coins made available for study, but it was now also possible to make use of the additional information that the hoard context could yield for interpreting different aspects of the coinage. In consequence the numismatists working with the Anglo-Saxon material, with Michael Dolley as the leading figure, soon began to publish an endless flow of papers evidencing the progress in research. It is an almost impossible task to give a detailed account of how the ideas relating to the reform and repeated recoinages developed until the major paper in Stenton's *Festschrift* in 1961, since remarks concerning bits and pieces were published in a large number of papers.

In 1954 Dolley tried to date the transition from Long Cross to Helmet based on the material from Wilton and Salisbury. In connection with this he suggested that each type of Æthelred II, Small Cross, Hand, Crux, Long Cross, Helmet, and Small Cross, was of about equal length [Dolley 1954C].

Soon to follow was the publication by Dolley and Elmore Jones of the Intermediate Small Cross type [Dolley & Elmore Jones 1955]. The last piece in the order of the types of Æthelred II now fell in its proper place.

At the same time interest in the coinage of the post-Æthelred II period was also beginning to pay off.

A 'great reform' of Edgar in 973 which included regular recoinages was implied by Dolley in a note connected with the Edgar millenium [Dolley 1959C]. The reform was seen as a tool by which the weight of the coins could be adjusted to the national need.

In the *Festschift* to Sir Frank Stenton in 1961, Dolley and Metcalf presented an outline for the monetary reform which is mentioned during the reign of Edgar *s.a.* 975 by the thirteenth-century chronicler Roger of Wendower. They rejected the date 975 in favor of 973 and 'claimed that the essence of the reform of 973 was the introduction of a system by which the English coinage was regularly called in and reissued' [Dolley & Metcalf 1961, 156], a practice which lasted to the reign of Stephen. Their claim was supported by an analysis of the hoards, where two-thirds of the English hoards were 'consistent with the proposition that under the reform of Edgar each new type was virtually a recoinage' [Dolley & Metcalf 1961, 156]. The coinage of Edgar struck before the reform was investigated and a regional and chronological order for the types was suggested. They compared the known mints in operation before and after the reform and concluded that five new mints were set up in 973. They also argued that in view of the small number of known coins of RSC the number of new mints was probably higher. The new mints were in their view created as a part of the reform to the effect that 'men should not have to travel an unreasonable distance in order to reach a mint' [Dolley & Metcalf 1961, 148]. Thus they had presented the main objectives of the reform and went on to assign a six-year period to each of the remaining types under Æthelred II. For the following reigns some modifications were envisaged but the system as such did not come to an end until the reign of Stephen (1135-54). In other words it was decisive for the coinage for more than a century and a half, and in other papers absolute dates were proposed for the various issues up to Stephen.

For some types the dates have been altered from time to time, but the summary below gives the dates and names of the post-reform types adopted in the CNS-series. The Anglo-Saxon types include the designation according to Hd, while the Anglo-Norman types include the designation according to BMC. The relative order of the types is not in question until the reign of Henry I. For a large part of his reign the number of hoards and the number of surviving coins is much less and cannot provide conclusive evidence. It is not possible to specify an exact date for when the recoinages cease, since it apparently was a process connected with the civil war during Stephen's reign. The types listed for Stephen are limited to his four substantive types, one of which may, however, not be substantive. The dates for the types are very approximate since only a few hoards are known. It must also be recognized that other types, including those of the barons, were struck simultaneously with some or all of the substantive types [A survey is provided by Archibald 1974].

The types from Edgar to Æthelred II are illustrated in fig. 4.1.

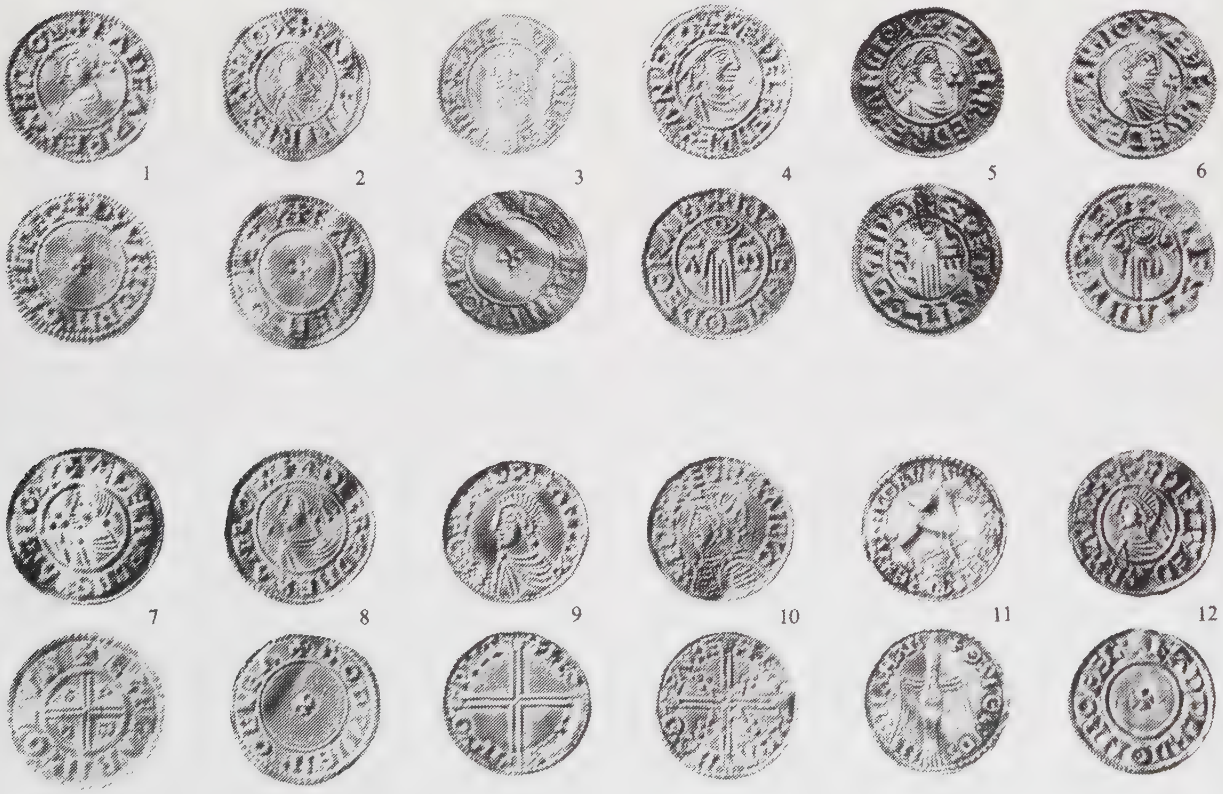


Fig. 4.1. The types from the Reform to Æthelred II. 1 – Edgar RSC; 2 – Edward the Martyr NSC; 3-12 – Æthelred II: 3 – First Small Cross; 4 – First Hand; 5 – Second Hand; 6 – Benediction Hand; 7 – Crux; 8 – Intermediate Small Cross; 9 – Long Cross; 10 – Helmet; 11 – Agnus Dei; 12 – Last Small Cross.

		Approximate date
Edgar 957/9-75		
Reform Small Cross	C2	973-5
Edward the Martyr 975-8		
Normal Small Cross	A	975-8
Æthelred II 978-1016		
First Small Cross	A(1)	978-9
First Hand	B1	979-85
Second Hand	B2	985-91
Benediction Hand	B3	991
Crux	C	991-7
Intermediate Small Cross	A(2)	997
Long Cross	D	997-1003
Helmet	E	1003-9
Agnus Dei	G	1009
Last Small Cross	A(3)	1009-17
Cnut 1016-35		
Quatrefoil	E	1017-23
Pointed Helmet	G	1023-9
Short Cross	H	1029-35
Harold I 1035-40		
Jewel Cross	A	1035-8
Fleur-de-Lis	B	1038-40
Harthacnut 1035-38, 1040-42		
Jewel Cross	A	1035-8
Arm-and-Sceptre	B	1040-2
Edward the Confessor 1042-66		
Pacx	D	1042-4
Radiate/Small Cross	A	1044-6
Trefoil Quadrilateral	C	1046-8
Short Cross	B	1048-50
Expanding Cross	E	1050-3
Pointed Helmet	F	1053-6
Sovereign Eagles	H	1056-9
Hammer Cross	G	1059-62
Facing Bust	Ac	1062-5
Pyramids	I	1065-6
Harold II 1066		
Pax	A	1066
William I 1066-87		
Profile Cross Fleury	I	1066-8
Bonnet	II	1068-70
Canopy	III	1070-2
Two Sceptres	IV	1072-4
Two Stars	V	1074-7
Sword	VI	1077-80
Profile Cross and Trefoil	VII	1080-3
Paxs	VIII	1083-6
William II 1087-1100		
Profile	I	1086-9
Cross in Quatrefoil	II	1089-92
Cross Voided	III	1092-5
Cross Pattée and Fleury	IV	1095-8
Cross Fleury and Piles	V	1098-1100
Henry I 1100-35		
Annulets	I	1100-1
Profile Cross fleury	II	1101-4
Pax	III	1104-7
Annulets and Piles	IV	1107-8
Voided Cross and Fleurs	V	1108-10
Pointing Bust and Stars	VI	1110-13
Quatrefoil and Piles	VII	1113-16
Large Bust/Cross and Annulets	VIII	1116-19
Cross in Quatrefoil	IX	1119-22
Double Inscription	XI	1122-4
Cross Fleury	X	1124-5
Small Bust/Cross and Annulets	XII	1125-8
Star in Lozenge Fleury	XIII	1128-31
Pellets in Quatrefoil	XIV	1131-4
Quadrilateral on Cross Fleury	XV	1134-5
Stephen 1135-54		
Watford	I	1135-42
Cross Voided and Mullets	II	1142-8
Profile/Cross and Piles	VI	1148-53
Awbridge	VII	1153-58

The reform, as envisioned by Dolley and Metcalf, had both short term and long term implications. There is general agreement today that the coinage underwent drastic changes at the end of Edgar's reign, and the basic changes are apparent from the coins themselves. Alternative dates for the reform have, however, been presented, but all dates presented so far are confined to the period c. 970-5. The implications for the following coinage have been more heatedly discussed: for example was it intended from the start that recoinages would be undertaken at regular intervals? It is implicit that the ordering of the types during the following decades, and hence their dating, became an integral part of the discussion, and two periods have become especially controversial. For the Hand types Dolley and Metcalf argued that First Hand was a separate issue from Second Hand (and Benediction Hand), which should be dated to c. 979-85, and c. 985-91, respectively, while Petersson and Brand argue that they were all part of one issue, and should be dated to 982-9 [Petersson 1969, 87] or 980-92/3 [Brand 1984, 33]. The other concerns whether Long Cross and Helmet are separate issues or only one single issue. It will not be possible here to contribute to the debate concerning the Hand types on the one hand and Long Cross and Helmet on the other hand, as in order to add anything to it without just repeating what has already been stated would in itself require a lengthy analysis. It is of course regrettable that some of the proposed long-term implications of the reform will not be discussed here, but as they are not relevant to a study of the Reform issue, they belong in another context, where the issues under discussion may be studied on their own merits.

4.2. The date of the reform

Dolley often prophesied that it would be possible in the future to date the individual coins within months. Under normal circumstances most numismatists would be content with a leeway of one year, when it comes to dating an event that occurred more than a thousand years ago, and the statement by Dolley is a reflection of his sometimes perhaps too ambitious optimism. The debate concerning the date of the reform may thus seem a bit like aiming above the real target. It is no doubt correct to say that a criticism of the dating of the Hand types and the regularity of the issues is more constructive than a criticism of an isolated date. In many respects, however, the proposed date of the reform has become a symbol of the ideas that Dolley had of a rigid system of sexennial recoinages.

'Deinde per totam Angliam novam fieri præcepit monetam, quia vetus vitio tonsorum adeo erat corrupta, ut vix nummus obolum appenderet in statera' is the sentence *s.a.* 975 by the thirteenth-century chronicler Roger of Wendower, which has been quoted on numerous occasions. In translation it reads 'Then he ordered a new coinage to be made throughout the whole of England, because the old was so debased by the crime of clippers that a penny hardly weighed a halfpenny in the scales' [EHD 258].

As can be seen it provides details of everything that can be considered to be relevant: time, action, motive, and range. From the start the information in this written source was, however, not fully accepted. Dolley and Metcalf agreed that although the date of the reform was very late in the reign, it could not have taken place in 975, and suggested 973 as the correct date [Dolley & Metcalf 1961, 136, 152]. They further disputed the information that the coinage prior to the reform was of low weight, viewing Roger's statement as a reflection of his own time, and they provided figures to support this view [Dolley & Metcalf 1961, 136, 155-6, and note 2]. Finally a modification of the range, whereby the Three-line type was allowed to be struck after the reform, albeit only meant for circulation abroad, was suggested [Dolley & Metcalf 1961, 140-1].

Commenting the date Grierson favors the written evidence, though conceivably giving the wrong year, to a year based on an assumption of monetary periods of six years and a connection with the king's coronation [Grierson 1962, xiii-xiv].

In a first note on the reform of Edgar, Brand, although not unfavorable to an alternative date to 975, viewed the date of 973 suggested by Dolley and Metcalf as 'mainly chosen because it fitted the pre-conceived sexennial theory' [Brand 1967B, 94].

In his great work on the weights of the late Anglo-Saxon coins, Petersson regarded the Hands types as one issue, and his proposed dates for the types before Cnut, assuming equal length of each issue (which he regards as highly likely), placed the date of the reform in 975 [Petersson 1969, 84]. Based on alternative views of when the New Year began, he proposed 974 as an alternative date for the reform [Petersson 1969, 84-5].

Lyon expressed the opinion that the reform must have taken place before 975 as RSC accounts for nearly half of the issue in the figures published in Petersson 1969 [Lyon 1976, 194, note 2].

In 1979, Dolley published a long deferred paper [Dolley 1979A, note 50 'Substantially written a whole indiction ago'], where he reviewed the date in detail based on historical sources. He found that 'the 973 date for Eadgar's monetary reform is not, as has been implied, a numismatic ingenuity conjured up to fit in with preconceived orderings of what was clearly a highly managed currency, but is positively demanded by the 'eodem tempore' of our one literary source' [Dolley 1979A, 9]. The event 'at the same time' was the submission to Edgar of Kenneth of Scotland and the grant of Lothian to the Scottish king.

The Presidential adress by Brand in the British Numismatic Society in November 1982 was published two years later. It surveys and refutes the individual arguments connected with the sixennial system which had been presented (mainly) by

Dolley. Brand suggested that there were only five issues before Cnut, and the dates are not as sharply defined. The reform is given a very wide date, since it is assigned to c. 970-5 [Brand 1984, 33].

It is evident from the survey above that the date of 973, at first at any rate, was arrived at on the basis of a regular division of the following issues. The same is true for the alternative date of 975. The attempts that have been made to calculate a date based on the surviving coins of the Reform issue have not aimed at deciding a defined date and have not received much attention.

Is it in fact at all possible to date the reform based on the surving coins of the Reform issue? The efforts made so far have concentrated on the number of coins for the individual types, where the present figures for surviving specimens are:

Edgar	347	40%
Edward	363	42%
Æthelred II	149	18%
Total	859	100%

Two problems are connected with an interpretation of these figures.

1) The material is very heterogeneous, since approximately 50% originates from two English hoards and another 26% derives from Scandinavian hoards.
2) The pace of the recoinage is left to speculation, as is the question of whether it kept the same pace all over England.

The hazards of the first point have been demonstrated by Blunt and Lyon based on the figures for the Chester (BI 174) and Oakham hoards (BI 175), and Sweden [Blunt & Lyon 1979, 120-1]. Using slightly altered figures based on the catalogue presented at the back the result is as follow:

	Oakham		Chester		Sweden	
Edgar	55	29%	22	18%	135	62%
Edward	105	56%	59	49%	52	24%
Æthelred II	29	15%	40	33%	32	14%
	189	100%	121	100%	219	100%

Even if the two English figures are strikingly similar, the Swedish figures give a totally different picture. From this it is evident that a combined total cannot give an objective result, since it will merely tilt to the side which is supported by the largest number of coins (fig. 4.2).

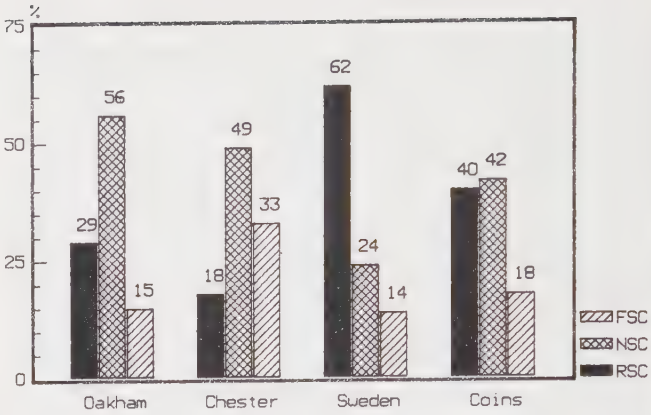


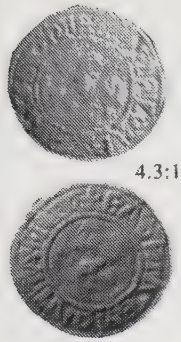
Fig. 4.2. The composition of the hoards with coins of the Reform issue, and the composition of the surviving coins.

In order to tackle the second point two hoards buried during the reigns of Edgar and Edward, respectively, would have been needed to see how many pre-reform coins were still in circulation. Since such hoards are not available, other means will have to be used. If it were possible to show that the weights of the coins of Edgar with a Swedish provenance are above average, that would point to a rapid recoinage, since otherwise more pre-reform coins would have been found in Sweden. The current investigation (see section 4.4) shows that the coins of Edgar found in Sweden do not weigh more than the corresponding coins found in the two English hoards. Rather surprisingly it would indicate that all the coins found in Sweden were exported at a late date within the Reform issue, as their weights agree so well with those found in the two (late) English hoards.

The remaining solution is to consider the number of known dies used during Edgar, Edward, and Æthelred II, respectively (see sections 4.7 and 4.8). As many as six reverse dies are recorded for a single moneyer during Edgar and quite a number are known to have used at least three reverse dies. These figures appear too high to agree with a recoinage in 975. The fact that the number of dies was still very high for Edward, and proportionately very high for Æthelred II, also indicates that the recoinage lasted for some years. If c. 973 as a date for the recoinage would thus appear likely, the issue may well have continued longer than previously suggested and not have come to an end until c. 980.

Michaelmas (29 September) or Lady Day (25 March) were at first suggested as the alternative times of year for the recoinage [Dolley & Elmore Jones 1955, 84; Michaelmas as the time when new types were introduced had previously been suggested in Carlyon-Britton 1905 and 1922]. The former was finally chosen with reference to the practise in Norman times, when the fiscal year ran from Michaelmas to Michaelmas [Dolley & Elmore Jones 1961, 176], but this has been challenged by Brand [Brand 1984, note 13].

Practical matters were no doubt decisive for the choice of date for the recoinages. The time of year when commerce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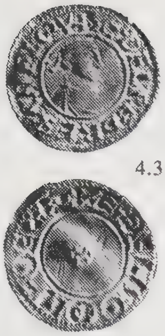
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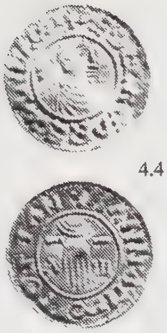
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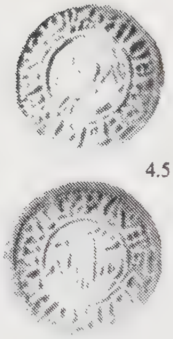
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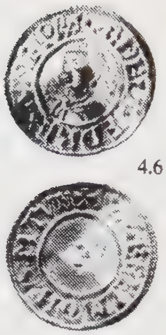

4.6

Fig. 4.3. Æthelred II, First Small Cross coins of Wilton and Exeter with right-facing bust.

Fig. 4.4. Æthelred II, First Hand coin of the southern A style.

Fig. 4.5. Mule from Southampton of Æthelred II First Small Cross and First Hand.

Fig. 4.6. Æthelred II, First Small Cross coin of Southampton.

reached its peak must have been after the harvest when the market season began. The geld was hence no doubt paid later although the exact date is not known. The customs due to the Church are known from the laws. They stipulate that the tithe was to be paid by Pentecost for young stock and All Saint's Day (1 November) for crops, the church-scot on the feast of St. Martin (11 November), plough-alms fifteen days after Easter, and light-dues three times a year [Barlow 1979A, 160-2]. If the restriction of the currency was connected to the geld, then Michaelmas would seem to be a suitable time of year for the recoinage. A slightly earlier date, however, is preferable, provided the restriction also applied to trade and commerce, which may be inferred from the law code which states that any purchase worth more than four pence had to be witnessed [EHD 458 (II Cnut, 24)]. In conclusion August or September must be regarded as the likely time of year for the recoinages.

4.3. The type used for the Reform issue

During the first half of the tenth century, four major types had become a standard feature of the coinage. In descending order based on the number of surviving specimens they are know as the Two-line type, the Circumscription Cross type, the Circumscription Rosette type, and the Crowned Bust type (see section 2.4). They can be regarded as established types, although they were not struck continuously, and they were often also regionally restricted. Besides these types there are a number of types that were struck during brief periods or on what evidently was a smaller scale.

The new type which was to be introduced in connection with the reform no doubt had to satisfy a number of requirements:

a) it had to be readily distinguishable from the types in circulation at the time
b) at the same time it was probably important to maintain a certain degree of continuity that would insure that the new type was readily accepted
c) the type should emphasize the royal character of the coinage.

Due to the division of types throughout the country it would be virtually impossible to find one type that could meet all the requirements. It is likely that many suggestions were proposed before reaching a compromise. In the end it must have been evident that a type with a portrait obverse and a small cross reverse could satisfy nearly all of the objectives. The obverse motif with a small cross was common to virtually all types struck just before the reform, and hence it would be familiar all over England. It was then left to the obverse to distinguish the new type from the old ones. A portrait type was already used on the coins struck in East Anglia, and it had also been struck in Wessex, where the type, however, seems not to have been used after c. 967. The new portrait obverse was confined within the inner circle and it was facing left as against right for the pre-reform type. The Crowned Bust type can be termed characteristic of East Anglia and the close resemblance between it and the new Reform type may not have been coincidental. Edgar had been raised in the home of Ealdorman Athelstan 'Half King' of East Anglia, and the choice of type could be seen as a tribute to him and his family.

The basic motif for the Reform issue was adhered to with some exceptions towards the very end of the issue. A local variety struck in Kent has a sceptre added on the obverse as well as four additional crosses on the reverse. There also exists a First Small Cross penny with right-facing bust from Wilton, moneyer Eadwine [Helsinki – ex Toumaala hoard, Jonsson 1987, a], as well as one from Exeter, moneyer Æthelnoth [KMK – ex Kyrkebys hoard, Jonsson 1987, a] (fig. 4.3). The style of the former is of the national London style. The style of the obverse of the Exeter coin is consistent with a style found over a wide area in the south during First Hand [Dolley & Talvio 1977, Southern A] (fig. 4.4). No die-link with a First Hand coin has been found. The style is also close to the national Winchester style of the Reform issue, but no other coin is known in FSC with the Winchester style. The style of the letters on the reverse (and obverse) does not comply with other known FSC coins at Exeter or elsewhere, but it is consistent with coins of the national Winchester style (and the Southern A style in First Hand). The Exeter penny must thus be regarded as a true First Small Cross coin, where the style is part of a development that begins with the national Winchester style in the Reform issue and ends with the Southern A style in First Hand.

A true First Small Cross/First Hand mule is known from Southampton, moneyer Isegl [BM – Jonsson 1987, a] (fig. 4.5). The obverse is of the national London style, and it is die-identical with a regular First Small Cross coin of the same mint and moneyer [KMK – ex Igelösa hoard, Jonsson 1987, a] (fig. 4.6).

4.4. Die-cutting styles and die distribution

In the past few decades much work has been concentrated on the problem of regional die-cutting and on identifying the centres of die-production. Another important issue concerns how the dies were distributed and how this pattern developed over time. A stylistic analysis of the coins (i.e. of the dies) is therefore the best approach to establishing the pattern of two vital aspects relevant to the coinage: die-cutting and die-distribution. A preliminary analysis will be undertaken here with respect to the Reform issue, but a final analysis will have to await another occasion, since it would be too large to include in the present study.

Before analysing the material available in the Reform issue it could be useful to survey previous results for the post-reform period (c. 973-1066) with emphasis on the Reform issue [See also Blackburn & Lyon 1986, 223-5].

No full-scale analysis of the styles used during the Reform issue has been undertaken. Some observations, however, have been made in connection with individual coins, mainly concentrated on Æthelred II First Small Cross.

In a short paper where Dolley identified coins struck at the mint of Caistor for the first time [Dolley 1955A, 88-92], three main groupings of the First Small Cross type were distinguished. The first, confined to Canterbury and Lympne, has a sceptre added to the obverse and four pellets surround the cross on the reverse. The second has a spray of pellets before the face and was found at Bedford, Chester, Derby, Exeter, Lewes, London, Southampton, Tamworth, Totnes, Wilton, and Worcester. It was also claimed that the dies for this group were cut at two or three centres, one of which was connected with Bedford. The third group had a backless bust and three pellets before the face, and is found at Caistor, Lincoln, Northampton, Stamford, Torksey, and York. In addition coins corresponding more or less closely to the first group (but without sceptre and pellets) were found at Northampton, Stamford, and York.

In another note discussing the possible attribution of a coin of Edward the Martyr to Louth [Dolley 1957A], Dolley makes further comments on the styles during the Reform issue. The great majority of the dies of Edgar were cut at one centre, if not indeed by one hand, but dies were also cut locally. During Edward's reign most of the dies continued to be cut at one centre, but local styles are also found at York and Lincoln.

After the Reform issue six centres produced dies for Æthelred II's First Hand type: Canterbury, Chester, Lincoln, London (or Winchester), Norwich, and York [Dolley & Talvio 1977].

During Second Hand most of the dies were probably engraved at London, with some local die-cutting at the end.

During the Crux, Long Cross, and Helmet types London and/or Winchester supplying the bulk of the dies, while a number of centres supplied dies locally at a later stage [Blackburn & Lyon 1986, 224; Stafford 1978B, 45, 48].

In Last Small Cross there were six major die-cutting centres – Exeter, Gloucester, Lincoln, London, Winchester, York – as well as some smaller ones [Dolley 1958A].

Cnut retained the basic pattern for Quatrefoil, although additional centres were also operating [Blackburn & Lyon 1986], while six centres or less produced the dies for Pointed Helmet and Short Cross [Dolley & Ingold 1961A].

During Jewel Cross, which was struck for both Harold I and

Harthacnut, the dies were engraved at Lincoln, London, and Winchester [Talvio 1986].

For the remaining types to the Norman invasion only Harold II has been analysed, where London cut the dies except some locally cut ones [Pagan 1988].

4.4.1. Die-distribution

The distribution of the dies was no doubt crucial for the control of the coinage. In the pre-reform period, a number of local die-centres supplied dies to the mints and some dies were evidently cut locally. In connection with the breakdown of the organization of the pre-reform coinage, the production and distribution of the dies was centralized. This would ensure control of the coinage. The post-reform coinage of Edgar came very close to obtaining full control of the die-production and hence the die-distribution.

So far the published studies that deal with the styles of the types struck after the Reform issue have been limited in scope (e.g. coins in a particular collection). They thus need to be enhanced to incorporate all known coins before one can usefully attempt to establish the patterns of the die-distribution.

4.4.2. Definitions

The main styles have been identified for some of the types that were struck during the post-reform period. They have variously been termed national styles, regional styles, local styles, sub-styles, and they have been associated with die-cutting centres or die-centres without being clearly defined.

When the individual styles used during a type have been described they have sometimes been limited to the obverse. It is thus easy to get the impression that mules between different styles are rare. The pattern is superficially very consistent, but if mules are in fact common the pattern could be much more complicated.

The term style is in the present study used to define dies that were cut by one individual who incorporates characteristic features in the design. This of course applies to both obverse and reverse, and it offers no problems when the letters are characteristic, as for London A, Lincoln, and York A, but in practice the letters used – especially during RSC – are difficult to distinguish from one another. In practise it is thus difficult at this stage to separate all of the styles from one another when the reverse is concerned. However, it is clear that dies of different styles were used together. The styles used during NSC and FSC (except the Lincoln and the Winchester styles) exhibit mules often enough to regard them as common.

In principal it is necessary to have access to at least three dies in order to be able to identify a style. In one case where the style is of superior workmanship, it has, however, been deemed possible to define the style based on a single pair of dies. Dies that display the basic features of a style but where the workmanship is inferior were probably cut by an engraver that simply imitates the style proper. Some dies that belong in this category are noted below.

The status of a style is dependent on how the dies are distributed and in the present study each type (RSC, NSC, and FSC) is treated separately. If a style is used at one mint only, it is termed a local style. A style used at more than one mint is defined as a regional style. In order to qualify as a national style, it has to be found at mints located in Wessex and Mercia (including the Danelaw), as well as in East Anglia or Northumbria. The corresponding definitions for the origin of the dies will be local, regional and national die-cutting shop.

In comparison to other late Anglo-Saxon types the Reform issue is known from a very limited number of coins, and quite a few of the locally cut dies are only known from a single pair of dies.

4.4.3. National styles

A) London

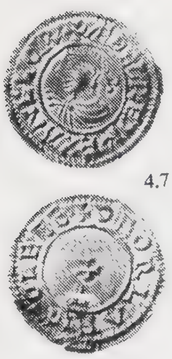
This style is not of high artistic quality, and it is confined to FSC (fig. 4.7). A spray of three pellets is placed before the face (only omitted on a single die used at Bedford). The front of the drapery consists of three almost straight lines which connect the clasp with the inner circle. The neck is high and narrow. The chin is pronounced.

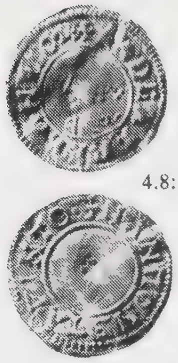
The king's name is spellt ÆÐELRED and the ethnic is ANGLOR, usually with a small stroke across the right tail of the last letter as a contraction mark for the full genitive form ANGLORVM. The letters are either fairly large or small.

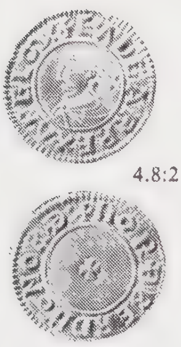
There is some variation within this style. For instance two of the three East Anglian dies have smaller letters, but this is probably related to a new set of punches and is also found elsewhere. The two dies recorded for Stamford could be from locally cut dies which imitate this style.

A few coins, however, display these general characteristics while their style itself is different. This applies to the single die from Winchester, and possibly also to one die from York.

The distribution of this national London style covers all of England, with the notable exception of the Lincolnshire area.


4.7


4.8:1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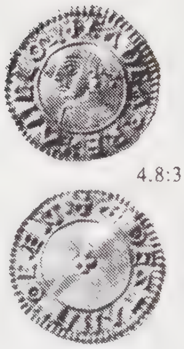
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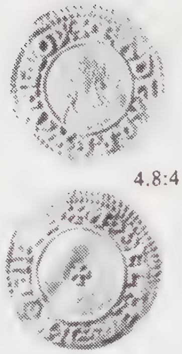

4.8:4

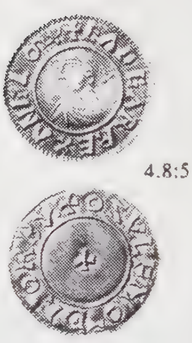

4.8:5

Fig. 4.7–8. The national styles. 7 – London; 8 – Winchester.

London and Winchester seem to be the only possible candidates for this centre. Neither, however, is the obvious choice, yet since there are more local styles found in the Winchester area and the style itself is not found at Winchester, London must be regarded as the best alternative, although a local style was used there as well.

	Edgar		Edward		Æthelred II	
	Dies	Per cent	Dies	Per cent	Dies	Per cent
Bedford	0	0	0	0	4	100
Chester	0	0	0	0	2	100
Exeter	0	0	0	0	2	67
Ipswich	0	0	0	0	1	100
Lewes	0	0	0	0	1	100
London	0	0	0	0	1	50
Norwich	0	0	0	0	1	100
Southamton	0	0	0	0	2	100
Stamford	0	0	0	0	2	14
Thetford	0	0	0	0	1	100
Totnes	0	0	–	–	1	100
Wilton	0	0	0	0	1	50
Worcester	–	–	–	–	1	100
York	0	0	0	0	6	24

B) Winchester

This is a style of high quality, and the same engraver also cut dies for the First Hand type. It displays considerable variation during Edgar. This is not surprising, since it accounts for a very large share of the dies used in the Reform issue. It is possible to see phases in the development of this style, but there are also many transitional dies. Some examples of this style are illustrated in fig. 4.8, which tries to present the chronological development. Certain irregularities make the development uncertain in the early stage. The earliest dies appear to be those that have a large head, and fairly thin lettering. At Winchester the contraction line of the copulative is placed above the letter O on some dies, or MONETA is unabbreviated (fig. 4.8:1). Slightly later are dies that have the letter A with a central bar, while the letters are somewhat smaller and thicker and the M and O of the copulative are placed very near one another so that the contraction line is placed half-way above the letter O (fig. 4.8:2). Later on the head becomes progressively smaller and the letters are consistently fairly squat with unbarred A (fig. 4.8:3-5). The development described here must have been very rapid, with the last group being dominant.

The size of the head can thus vary from large to small. The chin consists of a pellet, and the cheek is modelled in relief. The neck and shoulder form a straight line from a pellet below the ear to the inner circle. The letters are usually small and squat. With one exception [Wilton, Ælfsige – BMC 49] the letters N and G in the ethnic are not ligatured during RSC, but both unligatured and ligatured occur during Edward's reign. The reverse legend nearly always ends with a pellet.

This style enjoys a virtual monopoly during RSC. Its distribution is, however, severely reduced right from the beginning of Edward's reign, and its principal distribution becomes limited to the south-west. During FSC a single pair of dies is associated with the style, which is then reduced to a regional status (see section 4.3).

The distribution of the style during the reign of Edward clearly indicates that the dies were cut at Winchester.

	Edgar		Edward		Æthelred II	
	Dies	Per cent	Dies	Per cent	Dies	Per cent
Barnstaple	1	100	–	–	–	–
Bath	–	–	1	100	–	–
Bedford	5	100	0	0	0	0
Cambridge	2	100	1	100	–	–
Canterbury	9	100	1	25	0	0
Chester	9	100	4	80	0	0
Chichester	3	100	–	–	–	–
Derby	1	100	1	50	0	0
Dover	1	100	–	–	–	–
Exeter	5	100	1	100	1	33
Gloucester	4	100	2	100	–	–
Guildford	–	–	1	100	–	–
Hereford	1	100	–	–	–	–
Ilchester	1	100	–	–	–	–
Ipswich	5	83	0	0	0	0
Leicester	4	100	–	–	–	–
Lewes	4	100	4	100	0	0
Lincoln	5	83	0	0	0	0
London	12	100	2	20	0	0
Lydford	–	–	1	100	–	–
Lympne	3	50	6	60	0	0
Maldon	1	100	–	–	–	–
Malmesbury	1	100	–	–	–	–
Newark	2	100	–	–	–	–
Northampton	8	89	5	42	0	0
Norwich	2	50	0	0	0	0
Oxford	5	100	1	33	–	–
Rochester	5	100	1	50	–	–
Shaftesbury	1	100	2	100	0	0
Shrewsbury	5	100	–	–	–	–
Southampton	3	75	2	67	0	0
Stafford	2	100	–	–	–	–
Stamford	12	86	2	5	0	0
Thetford	2	67	0	0	0	0
Wallingford	1	100	–	–	–	–
Wareham	1	100	–	–	–	–
Warwick	1	100	0	0	–	–
Wilton	6	100	2	100	0	0
Winchcombe	1	100	–	–	–	–
Winchester	24	96	10	91	0	0
York	17	65	0	0	0	0

4.4.4. Regional styles

A) Canterbury

Confined to the reign of Æthelred II, this style is of good workmanship and was used during FSC, but the same engraver also cut dies for the First Hand type. This style is only recorded from mints located in Kent (fig. 4.9). A sceptre is placed before the face. The back of the bust is almost vertical, which tends to render the shoulders in profile. On the reverse there are four pellets placed around the cross.

The letters are large. The king's name is spelt ÆÐELRÆD and the A in both of the Æ extends to the base. The ethnic is ANGLO)X where N and G are not ligatured.

There can be no doubt that the dies were cut at Canterbury.

	Edgar		Edward		Æthelred II	
	Dies	Per cent	Dies	Per cent	Dies	Per cent
Canterbury	0	0	0	0	1	100
Lympne	0	0	0	0	1	100

B) Lincoln

The style connected with Lincoln is probably the one which in the past has received most attention (fig. 4.10). It occurs during NSC and FSC, and the same engraver also cut dies for the First Hand type. This style exhibits the most stylized bust of all those found during the Reform issue. The artistic quality is inferior to all but a few of the odd local styles. The bust is executed in outline drawing, but the cheek can be modelled in relief. The mouth is prominent. The ear is marked only exceptionally. The chin is not indicated. The eye is hollow without a pellet to indicate the iris and the pupil. The drapery has no indicated front, and it is drawn with radiating arcs which leaves the back open unless it is specially outlined. During FSC there are three pellets placed above one another before the face, sometimes connected with the clasp via arcs.

The letters are, in general, carelessly executed. The letter N is inverted, and it is consistently also used to denote M. The letter R is open or the middle horizontal stroke is thin. The obverse legend starts between 10 and 12 o'clock. During Edward the king's name is spelt EADWEA(RD) or EADVVARD. During Æthelred the king's name is usually spelt EDELRED, but very blundered forms are also found. REX is spelt RE+. The ethnic is spelt A(NGLO).

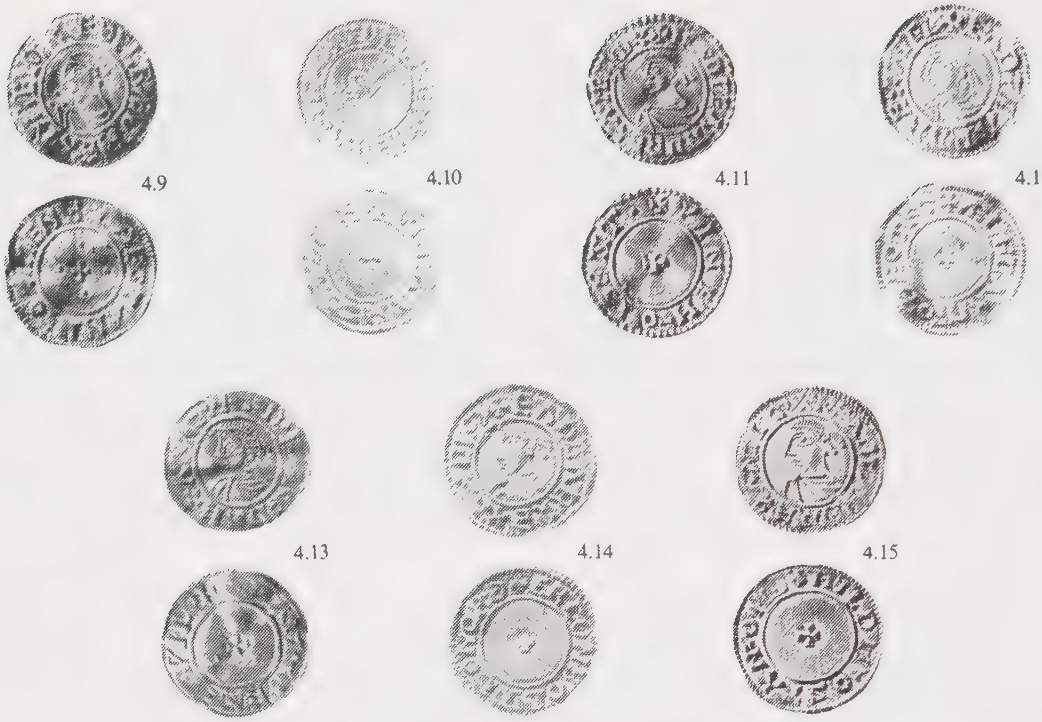


Fig. 4.9–15. The regional styles. 9 – Canterbury; 10 – Lincoln; 11 – London A; 12 – London B; 13 – Northampton; 14 – Norwich; 15 – Stamford A.

On the basis of their diverging lettering, two of the dies included during FSC (Derby, Gunnarr and York, Ælfstan) are perhaps best described as imitations of this style.

Since so few coins are known from FSC it is difficult to judge how the distribution of this style developed during the reigns of Edward and Æthelred II. It would seem, though, that the peak was reached during FSC, when it accounts for all the dies at Lincoln as well as being important at York. It is, however, surprising to find that two out of three dies at Oxford during Edward's reign are of the Lincoln style.

There can be no doubt that the dies were cut at Lincoln.

	Edgar		Edward		Æthelred II	
	Dies	Per cent	Dies	Per cent	Dies	Per cent
Caistor	–	–	1	100	3	100
Derby	0	0	0	0	1	20
Horncastle	–	–	1	100	1	100
Lincoln	1	17	13	86	12	100
Louth?	–	–	1	100	–	–
Northampton	0	0	3	25	2	50
Oxford	0	0	2	67	0	0
Stamford	0	0	4	9	3	22
Torksey	–	–	–	–	1	100
York	0	0	0	0	8	32

C) London A

This style is confined to Edward's reign (fig. 4.11). It is neatly executed, with a small head that often leans backwards, and the neck is tall. The lines of the drapery are usually always curved and the front is often not distinguishable.

The letters are small without being squat. The king's name is spelt EADWEARD. The ethnic is usually ANGLO)X with ligatured N and G. The reverse legend ends with a pellet.

The distribution of the dies covers the eastern part of England with the exception of the extreme north, and it clearly points to London as the source of the dies. It probably belongs to the early (and perhaps also the middle) part of Edward's reign.

	Edgar		Edward		Æthelred II	
	Dies	Per cent	Dies	Per cent	Dies	Per cent
Bedford	0	0	2	25	0	0
Canterbury	0	0	3	75	0	0
Ipswich	0	0	1	33	0	0
London	0	0	2	20	0	0
Northampton	0	0	1	8	0	0
Stamford	0	0	2	5	0	0
Thetford	0	0	1	50	0	0

D) *London B*

This style is confined to Edward's reign (fig. 4.12). The head is relatively large and placed in a forward position giving the impression of a hunch-back. The face is plastic with chin and cheek in relief. The front of the drapery is shaped as an inverted V and with a double inner line (single inner line found exceptionally). The neck band runs in a sweeping line from the front clasp to a pellet just below the ear.

The king's name is spelt EADWEARD or sometimes only EADWARD, and the ethnic is usually ANGLO)X or ANGLO, but is sometimes as short as AN. N and G in the ethnic are ligatured. The letters are either small as on London A (early?) or larger (later?).

The distribution of the dies is the same as for the London A style, and dies of the London B style were no doubt also cut in London. The London B style probably belongs to the middle and late part of Edward's reign.

	Edgar		Edward		Æthelred II	
	Dies	Per cent	Dies	Per cent	Dies	Per cent
Bedford	0	0	1	12	0	0
Hertford	0	0	1	100	–	–
London	0	0	4	40	0	0
Norwich	0	0	2	100	0	0
Rochester	0	0	1	50	–	–
Stamford	0	0	13	29	0	0
York	0	0	2	8	0	0

E) *Northampton*

This style is confined to FSC (fig. 4.13), and it shows influence from the Lincoln style. The eye is held back and given a central position. The drapery is forcefully drawn with curved lines radiating from the clasp, but the lines join the back at an angle.

The letters are carelessly executed. The king's name is spelt EÐELRED and the ethnic is either ANG or ANGLOX, but there is a high per cent of misspellings: EÐEDRED and ANNG. Mercian Ð is often used.

Three dies are known, of which one is used both at Northampton and York. In this case it is evident that the die was first used at York, which would point to York as the location where the dies were cut. However, Mercian Ð is otherwise never used at York, and the only other style which uses this feature in the Reform issue is Derby. The distribution of the style may seem strange, since it is not found at Lincoln or other mints in Lincolnshire, but the Lincoln style totally dominates the die-distribution in that area. It is also a fact that the two York A and B styles were not used anywhere else, while many other styles from outside were employed at York. The circumstantial evidence would thus tend to favor Northampton as the origin of the dies.

	Edgar		Edward		Æthelred II	
	Dies	Per cent	Dies	Per cent	Dies	Per cent
Northampton	0	0	0	0	2	50
York	0	0	0	0	2	8

F) *Norwich*

This style is confined to RSC (fig. 4.14). The front of the drapery is shaped as an inverted V and has a curved line extending from half-way down the inner line giving the impression of the letter h written the wrong way around. The letter A sometimes has a top bar.

The distribution of this style points to Norwich as its origin.

	Edgar		Edward		Æthelred II	
	Dies	Per cent	Dies	Per cent	Dies	Per cent
Norwich	2	50	0	0	0	0
Stamford	2	14	0	0	0	0
Thetford	1	33	0	0	0	0

G) *Stamford A*

This style is confined to the reign of Edward (fig. 4.15). The head can vary in size. The nose is prominent and the chin is set back. The mouth slants downwards, which gives the face an 'angry' look. The line indicating the back stops before it reaches the inner circle, which leaves the lower part of the back open.

The letters are well executed. The king's name is spelt EADWARD. The ethnic is usually short but the full ANGLO)X is also found.

	Edgar		Edward		Æthelred II	
	Dies	Per cent	Dies	Per cent	Dies	Per cent
Derby	0	0	1	50	0	0
Newark	0	0	1	100	–	–
Northampton	0	0	1	8	0	0
Stamford	0	0	19	45	0	0
Tamworth	0	0	3	60	0	0
Warwick	0	0	1	100	–	–

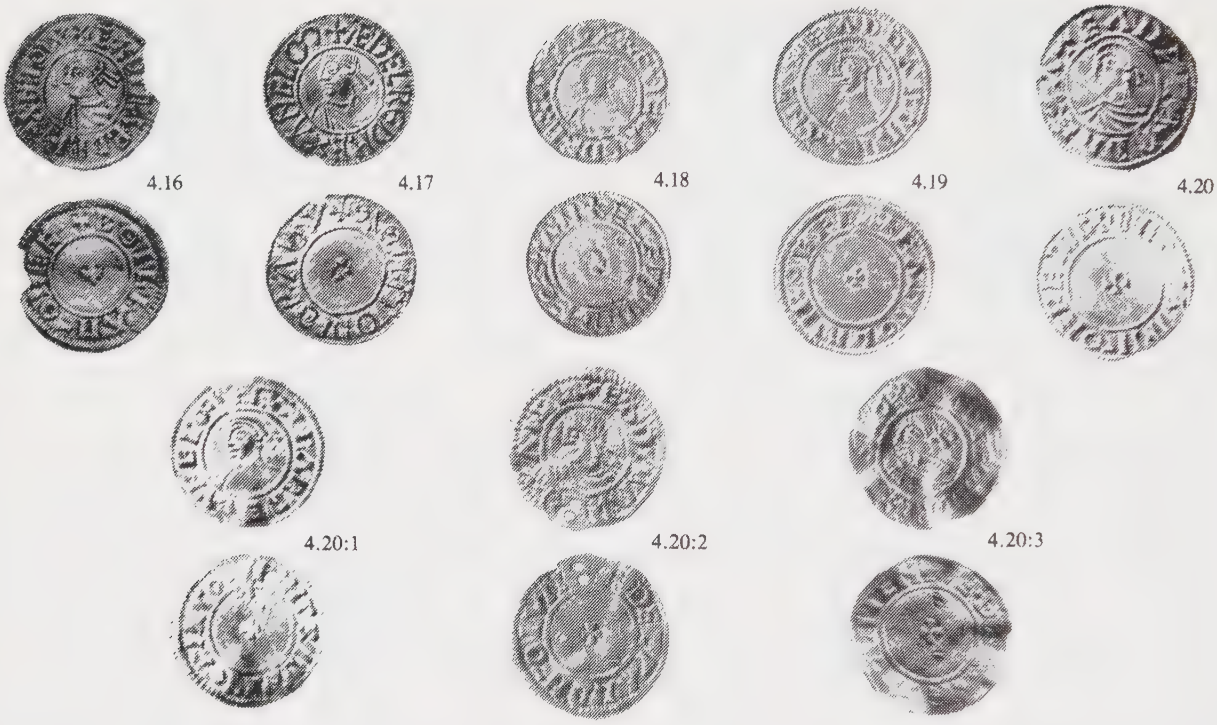


Fig. 4.16–21. The local styles. 16 – Chester; 17 – Derby; 18 – Stamford B; 19 – York A; 20 – York B; 21 – Various odd styles.

4.4.5. Local styles

A) Chester

This style is confined to Edward's reign (fig. 4.16). Based on a single die it is difficult to define all the characteristics of the bust, but it is of good workmanship and modelled in relief.

Some of the letters give an impression of being loosely joined together, since the punch used to create wedges is equilateral. The letter A for instance has a very low waist. These features are reminiscent of the pre-reform period. The king's name is spelt EADWEARD and the ethnic is ANGLO)X with N and G ligatured.

	Edgar		Edward		Æthelred II	
	Dies	Per cent	Dies	Per cent	Dies	Per cent
Chester	0	0	1	20	0	0

B) Derby

This style is of high quality and confined to FSC (fig. 4.17). The front of the drapery is very wide and has a double inner line.

The lettering is large and thin, almost giving the impression of being engraved. Some of the individual letters are rendered in various ways. The letter A is unbarred or has a central bar, except in combination with E, when it has both a top and central bar. The letter E is sometimes rendered in a unique way as a C with a central bar. The letter Đ is usually given in the Mercian form. The king's name is always spelt ÆĐELRED. The ethnic is ANGLO).

One coin exhibits a reverse of another (local) style.

	Edgar		Edward		Æthelred II	
	Dies	Per cent	Dies	Per cent	Dies	Per cent
Derby	0	0	0	0	3	60

C) Stamford B

This style is confined to FSC (fig. 4.18). Stamford offers a special case at that time. Besides dies of the Lincoln style and of the national London style (or local copies of the latter) there are two varying groups of dies which show some affinities. They are, with some reserve, treated here as a common style.

The head is either small or of average size. The front of the drapery is sometimes not distinguishable and two lines run parallel at the back of the neck.

The letters are influenced by the national London style. The king's name is spelt ÆÐELRED. The ethnic is usually ANGLO.

	Edgar		Edward		Æthelred II	
	Dies	Per cent	Dies	Per cent	Dies	Per cent
Stamford	0	0	0	0	9	64

D) York A

Two local styles were employed at York during the Reform issue. The first had been used at York starting a few years before the reform in connection with the introduction of a variety of the Two-line type. It is interesting because it continues the elaborate system of privy marks used on the dies before the reform (fig. 4.19).

The style is of inferior workmanship. The bust is tall and narrow during RSC. The head can be either small or large during Edward's reign. The drapery consists of closely drawn lines. During the reign of Edward the front of the drapery ends in two pellets and there is a tendency to lift the front to a horizontal position.

The letter A is barred. The obverse legend usually start between 9 and 11 o'clock. The king's name is spelt EADGAR and EADWEARD, respectively. The ethnic can be missing altogether (Edward) and does not extend beyond ANGLO.

	Edgar		Edward		Æthelred II	
	Dies	Per cent	Dies	Per cent	Dies	Per cent
York	9	35	15	88	0	0

E) York B

This style is confined to FSC (fig. 4.20). The York B style can be regarded as modelled on the national London style. It is artistically superior to the York A style, but it retains the front drapery of the York A style, which now gives the impression of a spray of two pellets below the face. The nose is pronounced.

The letters are large and well executed and also copy the national London style, with the king's name spelt ÆÐELRED, and the ethnic is usually ANGLO.

	Edgar		Edward		Æthelred II	
	Dies	Per cent	Dies	Per cent	Dies	Per cent
York	0	0	0	0	9	36

F) Locally cut dies of varying styles

The odd dies that were cut locally and which doo not conform to any of the styles above can sometimes account for a large share of the dies that were used. Some examples are illustrated in fig. 4.21. As more coins become available in the future, it will no doubt become apparent that some of these odd local styles constitute regional styles or established local styles. Among the surviving coins there are today a few pairs that already indicate the existence of further styles. Each pair shows common features but also displays variation. Only more coins of the same character will reveal if they in fact constitute styles of their own.

One of the mints in this group is 'Lvveic', where the style is influenced by the Winchester style. Other odd local styles of this character are not found further to the north than Buckingham, and if the mint-signature is merely blundered then Lympne would probably be the best candidate.

	Edgar		Edward		Æthelred II	
	Dies	Per cent	Dies	Per cent	Dies	Per cent
Bedford	0	0	5	63	0	0
Buckingham	–	–	2	100	–	–
Derby	0	0	0	0	1	20
Ipswich	1	14	2	67	0	0
Lincoln	0	0	1	7	0	0
London	0	0	2	20	1	50
Lvveic	–	–	1	100	0	0
Lympne	3	50	4	40	0	0
Northampton	1	11	2	17	0	0
Shaftesbury	0	0	0	0	1	100
Southampton	1	25	1	33	0	0
Stamford	0	0	2	5	0	0
Tamworth	–	–	1	20	2	100
Wilton	0	0	0	0	1	50
Winchester	1	4	1	9	1	100
York	0	0	1	5	0	0

Northern mints in general are the most common ones in this group, but again that may be a reflection of the bias of the northern hoards during the time of Edward and Æthelred II. Ipswich, London, Lympne, and Northampton are the only mints where local styles are recorded from more than one type. The inclusion of Lympne in this group is surprising and cannot be given a reasonable explanation, unless it is the result of lax control (cf. section 4.5). It should also be noted that the combined total for Lympne is higher than for any other mint.

4.4.6. Conclusions

The combined number of dies for the different styles is shown below, with the development during the three types being illustrated in fig. 4.22. The stylistic homogeneity of RSC is in sharp contrast to the multitude of styles employed during NSC and FSC.

It is also evident how often the styles change in connection with a new ruler. The production of dies would seem to have been continuous during RSC when developments can be seen within the Winchester style. During NSC and FSC, on the other hand, the die production seems to be concentrated to short periods, while locally cut dies supplied in-between needs. The moneyers were no doubt also obliged to order new sets of dies immediately after a new king had been elected, which thus provided a good opportunity to carry out changes.

		Edgar		Edward		Æthelred II	
		Dies	Per cent	Dies	Per cent	Dies	Per cent
National	London	–	–	–	–	25	29
	Winchester	175	88	50	28	1	1
Regional	Canterbury	–	–	–	–	2	2
	Lincoln	1	0.5	25	14	31	35
	London A	–	–	12	7	–	–
	London B	–	–	24	14	–	–
	Northampton	–	–	–	–	3	3
	Norwich	5	2	–	–	–	–
	Stamford A	–	–	26	15	–	–
Local	Chester	1	0.5	–	–	–	–
	Derby	–	–	–	–	3	3
	Stamford B	–	–	–	–	9	10
	York A	9	5	15	8	–	–
	York B	–	–	–	–	9	10
	Various	7	4	25	14	6	7
		198	100	177	100	88	100

It is not possible to establish what governed the use of dies of different styles in different parts of England. There is, however, a notable difference between the south and the north, since southern dies were used in the north while northern dies were virtually never used in the south. National styles always originated from the south, and the only regional styles there (London A and B) are best described as representing a transitional phase. Except for some dies of the Lincoln style used at Oxford during the reign of Edward, dies of northern regional styles were not used in the south, although they could enjoy a monopoly in some northern areas. These discrepancies imply that a southern authority was always in control of the south and could sometimes also exercise control on a national level, while control in the north was often exercised from the north. Although the pattern during NSC and FSC is reminiscent of some pre-reform conditions, the new basic structure introduced at the reform continued to be enforced.

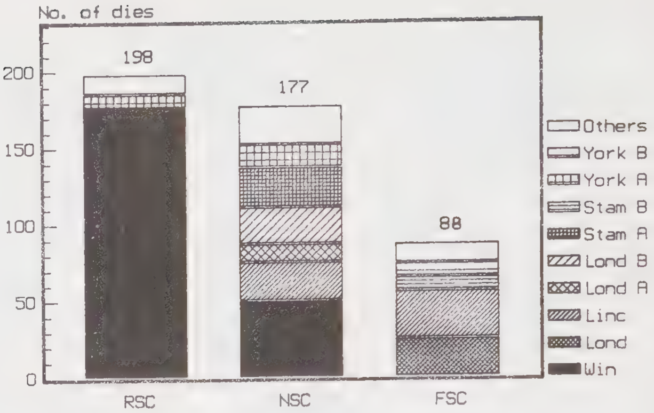


Fig. 4.22. The development of the different styles during the Reform issue.

A) Edgar

The national Winchester style is predominant at all of the mints save at Lympne where various local styles account for half of the dies. The only other styles of any importance are the regional Norwich style with 2% (5 dies) and the local York A style with 5% (9 dies). Based on the weights (see section 4.5) it would seem that the styles other than Winchester were not normally used at any particular stage of the coinage, since the weights follow the pattern for the coins struck by Winchester dies.

The dies which have been considered as early Winchester with the letter A barred, were employed at Chester – 2 dies, Ipswich – 2 dies, London – 1 die, Lympne – 1 die, Malmesbury – 1 die, Norwich – 1 die, Warwick – 1 die, and Wilton – 1 die. The area where it is conspicuously absent is the north-east, in spite of the fact that it is the area farthest away and it would thus require the dies to be sent at an early date. As such it may indicate a delayed introduction of the reform in this area.

B) Edward the Martyr

The previously dominant national Winchester style now becomes limited to the south-west, although occasional dies were supplied to mints in other areas as well; it accounts for a total of 28% (50 dies). Chester in the north-west is exceptional since it still received a majority of its dies from Winchester.

The two London styles (A and B), which could represent an early and a late stage of the same style, supplied dies to a wide area in the east, and thus took over the position which the Winchester style had previously held there. Their combined share is 21% (36 dies). This shift could indicate that London was becoming more important, while the opposite would be true of Winchester (cf. section 4.6).

Besides a few dies of the London B style supplied to York, the southern styles were unable to penetrate into the north-eastern areas. York became almost self-sufficient with an overall share of 8% (15 dies), while Lincoln also supplied neighbouring mints and accounted for 14% (25 dies). The southern Danelaw became a melting-pot for dies of styles emanating from die-cutting centres in the south and in the north, besides a number of regional and local styles, where the Stamford A style is very prolific without being dominant. Still, with its huge number of surviving coins, its share is no less than 15% (26 dies).

C) Æthelred II

The new national London style now covers all of England except Lincolnshire. It accounts for 29% (25 dies) of the total. However, the regional Lincoln style, which supplied much of the north-east with dies, is larger in number of dies, with 35% (31 dies). Other regional styles are Canterbury 2% (2 dies), which has a monopoly in the south-east, and Northampton 3% (3 dies). Local styles are Derby 3% (3 dies) and York B 10% (9 dies), while odd locally cut styles account for 7% (6 dies).

The figures above are a reflection of the northern bias in the hoards, and on a mint basis the national London style is represented at twelve mints, compared to eight for the regional Lincoln style. Such a comparison gives another perspective to the relative importance of the two styles. It could also indicate that efforts were made to centralize the die-cutting, but that they were not successful.

4.5 Weights

Excluding damaged coins, the weights of a total of 587 Reform pennnies have been recorded. The weights for the individual mints are presented in table 4.1. The highest recorded weight is 1.79 g [Elmore Jones 587 – NSC, Northampton, Leofsige; Jonsson 1987, d], and the lowest weight is 0.97 g [BM ex Chester 1914 hoard – FSC, York, Swerting; Jonsson 1987, a]. The average weight for the entire issue is 1.43 g, a drop occuring within the issue from 1.53 g during RSC to 1.37 g during NSC and finally 1.30 g during FSC. This progressive drop in the average weight is also reflected in the figures for the individual mints. Exceptions exist, usually confined to FSC, and concern the mints of Caistor, Cambridge, Canterbury, Chester, Lewes, Lympne, Shaftesbury, and Southampton. In all but two cases the result is based on the weight of a single coin, and this should prompt some caution as it may well reflect the chance occurrences.

Figures for the weight standards used in the pre-reform coinage of Edgar are unfortunately not available, and it is thus not possible to judge whether the weight developed differently then. However, the Two-line pellet/three crosses variety struck at York just before the reform has an average weight of 1.50 g (three specimens), while the contemporary Circumscription Cross type struck in the north-east south of the Humber has an average weight of only 1.24 g (six specimens). Two specimens of the early Two-line cross/three crosses variety from Wessex have an average weight of 1.44 g. This very limited survey indicates that geographical aspects were more important for the weight than chronological aspects: however, it has previously been noted that different mints could use very different weight standards [Metcalf 1986, note 63].

In the Reform issue the figures for the individual mints make it abundantly clear that different mints followed different weight standards. A pattern of different weight standards is known from other types [Jonsson 1977; Lyon 1971, 112]. It has been suggested that the weight standards were employed on a county basis [Lyon 1971, 112-13], and additional published material has supported the view that diverging weight standards were applied at the same time in different counties [Jonsson 1977]. Such ideas, however, are difficult to assess with respect to the Reform issue because so few weights are available. The evidence for mints located in the same county is mixed and concerns Canterbury – Rochester, Lincoln – Stamford, Norwich – Thetford, Southampton – Winchester. In particular the different weight standards used at Lincoln and Stamford, where numerous weights are recorded at both mints, lend no support to a theory that weight standards are connected to the counties. In the Reform issue it could thus not have had general application, but it could of course have applied to some counties.

The progressive fall in the weight standard during the Reform issue is clear enough and similar evidence is known from other types as well. Why this pattern was applied has caused some debate. Petersson argued that it was necessary to take account of the drop in the value of the coins in circulation when the time for a recoinage was approaching [Petersson 1969, 52]. Lyon has pointed out that nothing seems to indicate a rise and fall in prices to support this view [Lyon 1971, 115]. The law known as IV Æthelred, 6, speaks of 'pure money of the proper weight' [Petersson 1969, 266], which is difficult to reconcile with the factual evidence.

The progressive fall of the weight standard in the Reform issue has been seen as vindicating the idea that the concept of regular recoinages was part of Edgar's reform.

	Edgar		Edward		Æthelred II		Total	
Bath	–		1.56	(1)	–		1.56	(1)
Bedford	1.46	(5)	1.35	(11)	1.28	(4)	1.36	(20)
Buckingham	–		1.12	(2)	–		1.12	(2)
Caistor	–		1.23	(1)	1.29	(2)	1.27	(3)
Cambridge	1.51	(1)	1.54	(1)	–		1.53	(2)
Canterbury	1.53	(10)	1.39	(3)	1.44	(1)	1.50	(14)
Chester	1.57	(7)	1.35	(4)	1.46	(2)	1.48	(13)
Chichester	1.60	(2)	–		–		1.60	(2)
Derby	1.27	(3)	1.17	(2)	1.17	(6)	1.20	(11)
Dover	1.43	(1)	–		–		1.43	(1)
Exeter	1.60	(6)	1.46	(4)	1.33	(3)	1.50	(13)
Gloucester	1.61	(5)	1.37	(2)	–		1.54	(7)
Guildford	–		1.25	(1)	–		1.25	(1)
Hereford	1.55	(1)	–		–		1.55	(1)
Hertford	–		1.33	(1)	–		1.33	(1)
Horncastle	–		1.44	(1)	1.02	(1)	1.23	(2)
Ilchester	1.62	(1)	–		–		1.62	(1)
Ipswich	1.61	(7)	1.39	(2)	1.12	(1)	1.55	(10)
Leicester	1.64	(7)	–		–		1.64	(7)
Lewes	1.51	(5)	1.41	(4)	1.46	(1)	1.46	(10)
Lincoln	1.60	(9)	1.41	(38)	1.34	(25)	1.41	(72)
London	1.59	(13)	1.51	(13)	1.50	(2)	1.55	(28)
Lvveic	–		1.34	(1)	–		1.34	(1)
Lydford	–		1.29	(2)	–		1.29	(2)
Lympne	1.40	(5)	1.25	(11)	1.33	(1)	1.30	(17)
Maldon	1.67	(2)	–		–		1.67	(2)
Malmesbury	1.68	(1)	–		–		1.68	(1)
Newark	1.56	(2)	1.46	(1)	–		1.53	(3)
Northampton	1.36	(12)	1.31	(10)	1.21	(5)	1.31	(27)
Norwich	1.57	(8)	1.56	(2)	1.50	(1)	1.56	(11)
Oxford	1.57	(15)	1.37	(3)	–		1.54	(18)
Rochester	1.41	(5)	1.29	(1)	–		1.39	(6)
Shaftesbury	1.56	(1)	–		1.59	(1)	1.58	(2)
Shrewsbury	1.60	(6)	–		–		1.60	(6)
Southampton	1.59	(2)	1.28	(3)	1.56	(2)	1.45	(7)
Stafford	1.46	(3)	–		–		1.46	(3)
Stamford	1.42	(26)	1.33	(74)	1.17	(13)	1.33	(113)
Tamworth	–		1.19	(5)	–		1.19	(5)
Thetford	1.60	(9)	1.48	(4)	–		1.57	(13)

Torksey	–		–		1.27	(1)	1.27	(1)
Wallingford	1.61	(1)	–		–		1.61	(1)
Wareham	1.62	(1)	–		–		1.62	(1)
Warwick	1.42	(1)	–		–		1.42	(1)
Wilton	1.53	(9)	1.51	(3)	1.51	(2)	1.52	(14)
Winchcombe	1.59	(2)	–		–		1.59	(2)
Winchester	1.54	(24)	1.44	(12)	1.21	(1)	1.50	(37)
Worcester	–		–		1.34	(1)	1.34	(1)
York	1.59	(23)	1.47	(24)	1.27	(23)	1.44	(70)
Total	1.53	(241)	1.37	(247)	1.30	(99)	1.43	(587)

Table 4.1. The average weights of the coins of the Reform issue. Numbers within parenthesis denote the number of specimens.

The figures for the average weights at each mint must also be treated with care as the number of available weights is not evenly distributed within the issue. In many cases they are limited to, or dominated by, one of the three periods, and the result will then of course be biassed. None the less it is evident that some mints consistently strike coins of a lower weight than the average. One of the most notable examples is Stamford, which also has a major effect on the overall result, as Stamford is by far the most common mint. The development of the average weight at the five major mints is shown in fig. 4.23.

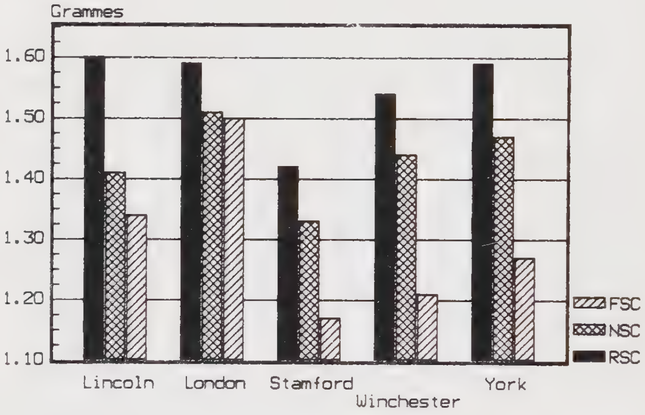


Fig. 4.23. The weights of the coins at the five major mints during the Reform issue.

In Wessex the former capital Winchester takes part in the progressive drop of the weight, a pattern that is repeated at Oxford. Canterbury is also at par. London and Wilton consistently keep a high standard, while Lympne and Rochester issue coins well below the average. The standard at Southampton is mixed and may partly be due to the difficulties of distinguishing the coins of Northampton and Southampton. For many of the mints the figures are limited to one or two entries (Bath, Guildford, Hertford, Ilchester, Lydford, Maldon, Malmesbury, Shaftesbury, Wallingford, and Wareham).

The East Anglian mints at Norwich and Thetford keep a high standard. The third mint in East Anglia, Ipswich, is also above average except during FSC, where, however, only one weight is recorded, the attributions being based on the name of the moneyer, since the mint-signature is blundered or lacking. It is thus also conceivable that the attribution to Ipswich is erroneous.

The five Danelaw mints at Bedford, Buckingham, Derby, Northampton, and Stamford (as noted above) keep a low standard. In the same area, Cambridge, Leicester, Lincoln, and Newark, on the other hand, tend to strike coins above the average. The available figures are very few for Caistor and Horncastle.

In central Mercia some mints tend to strike heavy coins (Gloucester, Shrewsbury), while others strike lighter coins (Stafford). A single entry is recorded for Hereford, Warwick, Winchcombe, and Worcester.

At Chester the two FSC coins weigh 10% above the average. It would also have ranked as a mint of consistently high standard, had there not been the strange mix in NSC with two very high (1.60 g and 1.53 g) and two very low weights (1.19 g and 1.08 g). Tamworth is definitely on the low side in NSC with an average weight of only 1.19 g.

In the north York is above average both during RSC and NSC, but drops below average during FSC. York is also notable, as three out of the total of nine known coins weighing more than 1.70 g are struck at York.

The pattern appears to correspond to the situation during the reign of Athelstan, where Blunt has remarked that north-western mints as well as the only mint in East Anglia (Norwich) in general struck heavy coins, while the north-east was rather on the low side [Blunt 1974, 59].

Since progressively lower weight standards were evidently employed, the weights might provide information concerning the chronological order for the dies of different national, regional, and local styles that were used at some mints [Cf. Blackburn & Lyon 1986, 253-6 for Cnut's Quatrefoil type]. In effect this will be limited to NSC and FSC, since most dies in RSC are of the same style (Winchester). The number of available weights also varies considerably for the different styles and more material would be required in order to obtain conclusive results even at major mints. This study is therefore limited to the five largest mints, Lincoln, London, Stamford, Winchester, and York, although the need for more figures is seen even here.

In this connection it is, however, first necessary to examine how weight standards were fixed. Today weights are measured in grammes and grains, but in the period concerned the essential aspect must have been how many coins could be struck from a known quantity of bullion (assuming that other metals were not deliberately added to the silver before striking). Lyon has used the Tower ounce as the basis for the weight standards and his figures are shown below [Lyon 1976, 184, 218].

	Average weight of a penny	
Pence per Tower ounce	Troy grains	Grammes
16	28.1	1.82
17	26.5	1.72
18	25.0	1.62
19	23.7	1.54
20	22.5	1.46
21	21.4	1.39
22	20.5	1.33
23	19.6	1.27
24	18.8	1.22
25	18.0	1.17
26	17.3	1.12
27	16.7	1.08
28	16.1	1.04
29	15.5	1.01
30	15.0	0.97

As is demonstrated below the weight standards used during the Reform issue very often correspond to multiples of two of the number of pence struck to the Troy ounce (p/To). There is always room for adjustments and this does not imply that the Troy ounce was the actual basis, but it certainly indicates that it in any event comes very close. It must none the less be borne in mind that the interpretations in many instances are based on a very low number of coins and the element of chance could thus be significant.

At Lincoln (table 4.2) the initial weight standard corresponded to 18 p/To (1.62 g) and was lowered to 20 p/To (1.46 g) at the end of RSC or the beginning of NSC. This standard was maintained for most of NSC and reduced to 24 p/To (1.33 g) only at the end of Edward's reign. The latter standard was also applied during FSC. The stylistic variation was much more restricted at Lincoln compared with other provincial mints, and the few weights for coins of non-Lincoln style do not allow any conclusions to be drawn.

	Edgar		Edward		Æthelred II
	Win	Lincoln	Local	Lincoln	Lincoln
1.65-1.69	3	–	–	–	–
1.60-1.64	1	1	–	–	–
1.55-1.59	1	–	–	3	–
1.50-1.54	2	–	–	2	1
1.45-1.49	1	–	–	7	1
1.40-1.44	–	–	–	7	3
1.35-1.39	–	–	–	7	9
1.30-1.34	–	–	1	4	5
1.25-1.29	–	–	–	2	3
1.20-1.24	–	–	–	1	1
1.15-1.19	–	–	1	1	–
1.10-1.14	–	–	–	–	–
1.05-1.09	–	–	–	–	–
-1.04	–	–	–	–	1

Table 4.2. The weights of coins of the Reform issue struck at Lincoln. Win – Winchester style.

At London (table 4.3) the weight variation is limited. The earliest weight standard is the same as at Lincoln or 18 p/To (1.62 g). In NSC it was changed to 19 p/To (1.54 g), where it remained until the end of the issue. Of the two coins with low weights during RSC, one looks very worn and the other is unusually small and may have been clipped. The standard was not changed when different styles came to be used. Thus the tendency during the reign of Edward for low weights for coins struck from dies of the Winchester style is probably not to be taken as an indication of a relative chronology for the styles, but is more of a random nature.

	Edgar	Edward			Æthelred II	
	Win	Win	Lond A	Lond B	Local	Lond
1.65-1.69	4	–	–	–	–	–
1.60-1.64	5	–	–	–	–	–
1.55-1.59	2	–	1	3	–	–
1.50-1.54	–	–	–	3	1	–
1.45-1.49	–	2	1	1	–	1
1.40-1.44	–	–	–	–	–	–
1.35-1.39	1	1	–	–	–	–
1.30-1.34	1	–	–	–	–	–

Table 4.3 the weights of the coins of the Reform issue struck at London. Lond – London style, Win – Winchester style.

No less than a total of 113 weights are recorded for Stamford (table 4.4). Two weights may indicate an extremely brief initial standard of 18 p/To (1.62 g) but that is uncertain. Otherwise half of the coins of Edgar correspond to 20 p/To (1.46 g) and half to 22 p/To (1.33 g), respectively. The latter standard also accounts for a large share of the coins of Edward. A standard on the high side of 24 p/To (1.22 g) was applied for the latter half of Edward's reign, and this standard was at first also used during FSC. At the very end of the issue the standard, however, drops as low as 26 p/To (1.12 g).

The weights connected with the different styles show that the Norwich style was probably used at an early stage during RSC. As to the London styles in NSC it is very clear and can only allow London A to have preceded London B. It is also interesting to see that the London B and Stamford styles were evidently used simultaneously throughout the reign of Edward. Based on a single weight the London national style belongs to the very beginning of FSC.

	Edgar		Edward						Æthelred II		
				Lond							
	Win	Norw	Win	A	B	Linc	Stam	Local	Lond	Linc	Local
1.60-1.64	2	–	–	—	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1.55-1.59	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1.50-1.54	4	1	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1.45-1.49	3	1	–	2	2	–	5	–	–	–	–
1.40-1.44	3	–	–	–	–	–	7	–	–	–	–
1.35-1.39	5	–	1	–	4	–	13	–	–	–	–
1.30-1.34	3	–	1	–	4	–	7	1	1	–	1
1.25-1.29	2	–	–	–	6	–	6	–	–	–	1
1.20-1.24	1	–	–	–	1	1	3	–	–	1	1
1.15-1.19	–	–	–	–	1	–	4	–	–	1	1
1.10-1.14	–	–	–	–	1	1	–	–	–	–	3
1.05-1.09	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	1	1
-1.04	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1

Table 4.4. The weights of the coins of the Reform issue struck at Stamford. Linc – Lincoln style, Lond – London style, Norw – Norwich style, Stam – Stamford style, Win – Winchester style.

Winchester is known for striking only heavy coins during some types of the late Anglo-Saxon coinage [Petersson 1969, tables 16, 18, 23 etc.], but table 4.5 shows that the variation was not as limited in the Reform issue. The two weight standards found during RSC of 18 p/To (1.62 g) and 19 p/To (1.54 g), respectively correspond with the situation at London. The latter level was initially maintained during Edward's reign, but then drops to 21 p/To (1.39 g). The single weight recorded during FSC points to a further drop to 24 p/To (1.22 g). Unusually many coins of Edgar are below the two standards suggested here (see below for possible posthumous coinage).

	Edgar	Edward	Æthelred II
	Win	Win	Local
1.65-1.69	3	–	–
1.60-1.64	6	–	–
1.55-1.59	6	1	–
1.50-1.54	2	4	–
1.45-1.49	1	1	–
1.40-1.44	1	3	–
1.35-1.39	3	1	–
1.30-1.34	–	1	–
1.25-1.29	1	1	–
1.20-1.24	–	–	1

Table 4.5. The weights of the coins of the Reform issue struck at Winchester.

At York (table 4.6) the figures indicate weight standards during RSC of 18 p/To (1.62 g) and 19 p/To (1.54 g), i.e. the same as at London and Winchester. The latter was also used during a large part of Edward's reign. 22 p/To (1.33 g) was applied towards the end of NSC and also used during FSC.

Regarding the chronology of the styles the indication is that the different styles were often used side by side. During RSC dies of both the national Winchester style and the local York style seem to have been employed initially, while the national style became progressively more dominant at the end. During Edward's reign the local York style had a virtual monopoly, and the single low weight recorded for the regional London B style may just as well be due to corrosion as to chronology. It is of course not necessary to assume that any one style obtained a monopoly at a given time. The weights certainly do not indicate this. During FSC the national London style may have been used at an early stage, while the regional Lincoln style and the local York style could be slightly later. It is also possible that all three styles were used simultaneously, since the figures are not conclusive.

	Edgar		Edward		Æthelred II		
	Win	York A	Lond B	York	Lond	Linc	York B
1.75-1.79	1	–	–	–	–	–	–
1.70-1.74	1	1	–	–	–	–	–
1.65-1.69	3	1	–	–	–	–	–
1.60-1.64	3	4	–	3	–	–	–
1.55-1.59	1	1	–	3	–	–	–
1.50-1.54	1	–	–	9	–	–	–
1.45-1.49	2	1	–	2	1	–	1
1.40-1.44	2	–	–	1	1	–	–
1.35-1.39	1	–	–	2	1	2	–
1.30-1.34	–	–	–	2	1	2	3
1.25-1.29	–	–	–	–	1	–	1
1.20-1.24	–	–	–	1	–	2	3
1.15-1.19	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
1.10-1.14	–	–	1	–	–	–	–
1.05-1.09	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
-1.04	–	–	–	–	–	2	–

Table 4.6. Weights of coins of the Reform issue struck at York. Linc-Lincoln style, Lond-London style, Win-Winchester style.

4.5.1. Conclusions

In general the pattern of the weight standards employed at the individual mints seems to be too complicated to allow for simple solutions. It is clear that progressively lower weight standards were used, but it is more difficult to explain why – and why not all mints follow the same weight standards. It might for instance depend on how the mints were organized. If moneyers were employed directly by the king they worked for a fixed salary and would not be dependent on whether business was active or not. Moneyers who were farming a mint for themselves, on the other hand, would work under different conditions. They would be required to operate the exchange even at the end of an issue when the activity must have been low, and they may have had to travel far to obtain bullion. To compensate for all this it is possible that they were allowed to start on a lower weight standard and reduce the weight progressively.

Another element which could influence the weights is to what extent the necessary control could be exercised over the mints. A high weight standard was continuously used at London which at the same time acquires the role as the national die-cutting centre (assuming that the die-cutting was not confined to separate premises). Lympne, on the other hand, is notable for the use of a high per cent of locally cut dies and also employs weight standards that are well below the average during RSC and NSC. In these two cases, more stringent control and the lack of control, respectively, could account for the differences [For Lympne see also sections 4.4 and 4.8].

In the tables presented above there are several indications that the weights of some coins agree better with a weight standard assigned to a succeeding ruler. This could be due to what may be termed natural deviation from the weight standard either because of inadequate control or because of leaching when the coins were buried in the ground. As to the first possibility it should be noted that there are numerous series of coins from different mints at later periods where the deviation is negligible. This at least shows that the irregular weights were not due to poor scales, since the scales were capable of exact measurements. A third alternative, however, which is of principal importance is whether some of the irregular weights are due to the use of old obverse dies, i.e. if they indicate a posthumous coinage. A large number of reverse dies are known to have been used in combination with obverse dies from two rulers, but that is hardly surprising. From a practical and economic point of view it must have been tempting for the moneyers to use old obverse dies that had not been worn out when a new ruler was appointed. If posthumous coinages were indeed practised, the figures above indicate a maximum share of about 25% for any of the rulers during the Reform issue, although a much lower figure is more logical, provided it was applied.

4.6. Hoards and stray finds

Besides the coins themselves, the hoards and the stray finds can offer much information about the coinage, and this section provides an analysis of such finds. The finds have been divided into two geographically separated parts, the first covering the British Isles, and the second other areas. The questions that will be discussed concern the implications of the reform as reflected in the finds. They cover e.g. the coins in circulation, the relative size of the Reform issue during each reign, and the relative output in different regions.

4.6.1 The British Isles

As Scotland, Wales, and Ireland were not part of England at this time, it would in some respects have been more logical to treat each area separately. However, their geographical position, and their close contacts have made it preferable to analyse them together. In this way it will also be easier to point out the differences and similarities between the areas that were part of England, and those areas that were not.

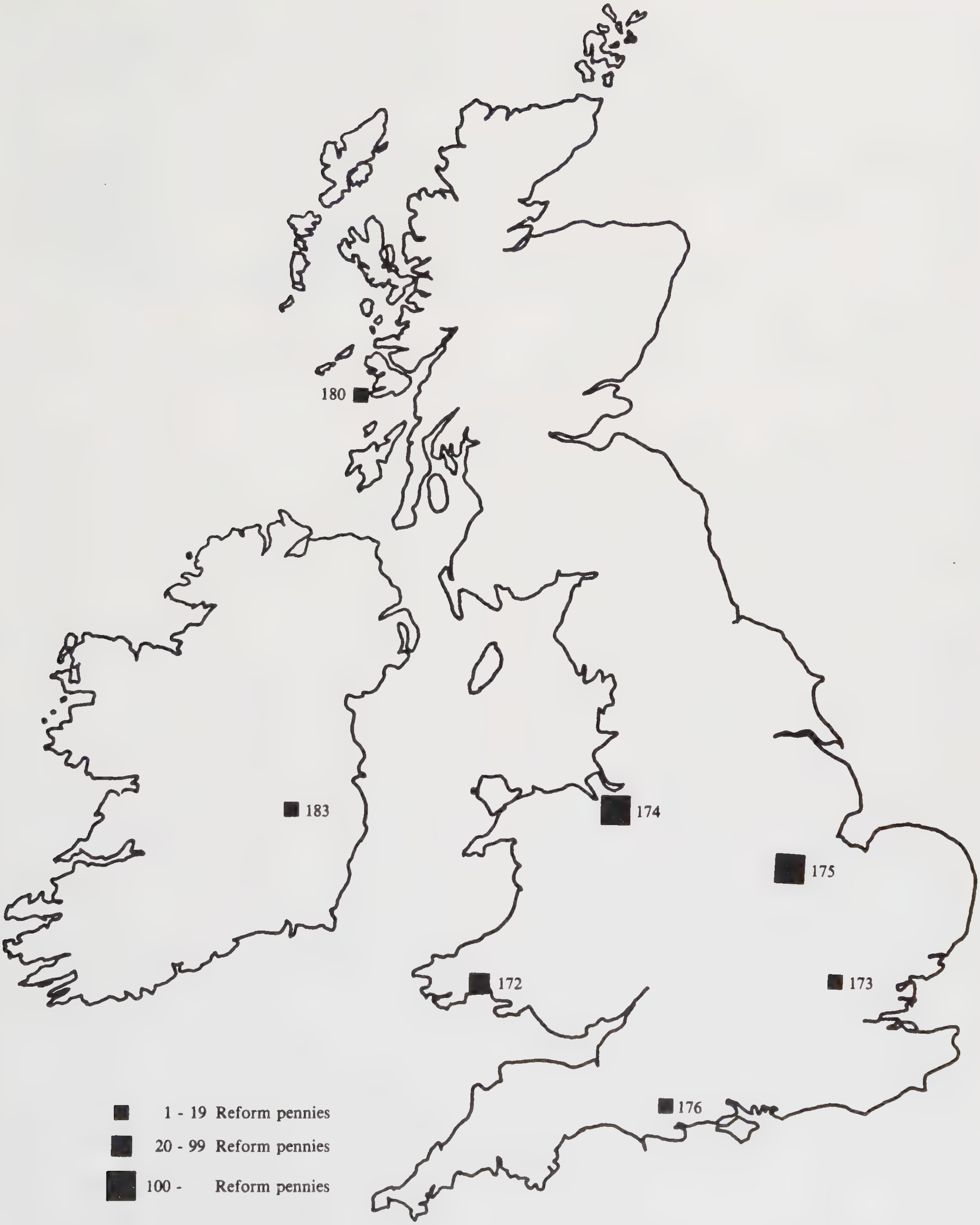

180
183
174
175
172
173
176
■ 1 - 19 Reform pennies
■ 20 - 99 Reform pennies
■ 100 - Reform pennies

Fig. 4.24. Hoards from the British Isles with coins of the Reform issue.

A) Hoards

Four hoards from England contain coins of the Reform issue; Welwyn (BI 173), Spettisbury Ring (BI 176), Oakham (BI 175), and Chester (BI 174). From Wales, Scotland, and Ireland there is one hoard each; Laugharne (BI 172), Iona (BI 180), and Kildare (BI 192). Their geographical distribution is shown in fig. 4.24. A summary of their contents is given in table 4.7.

BI			Pre-reform	RSC		NSC	FSC		Hand	Total
172	Laugharne	W	–	c. 60?		–	–		–	c. 60
173	Welwyn	E	2?	–	(1)	1	–		–	4
176	Spettisbury Ring	E	–	1		1	–	(1)	–	3
175	Oakham	E	–	55		106	29		?	c. 300?
174	Chester	E	–	22		59	40		12	133
180	Iona	S	338	–		1	–		6	363
183	Kildare	I	–	–		–	1		33	34

Table 4.7. Hoards from the British Isles with coins of the Reform issue in the order of the estimated time of deposit. Foreign coins are excluded except from the totals. Numbers within parenthesis denote coins that could belong to either of the adjacent columns. E – England, I – Ireland, S – Scotland, W – Wales.

Judging from the table the documentation of the hoards would seem satisfactory, but some caution is necessary. The hoard from Laugharne was immediately dispersed among the finders. There is really no evidence that all the coins were of RSC, as this is only an assumption based on the three surviving coins [Dolley 1959A, 256]. Since it is located outside the area where the authorities could control the currency in circulation, pre-reform coins may well have been included. Regarding Welwyn only two of the coins are well documented while a third is probably pre-reform and a fourth most likely of the Reform issue. The third coin from Spettisbury Ring was reported as found some time after the first two, but at the same place, and only the reign (Æthelred II) was recorded [Metcalf & Jonsson 1980]. If connected with the first two coins, it was most likely of the FSC or (less likely) of the (First) Hand type. Of the coins in the reconstructed Oakham hoard only a few were listed in the contemporary accounts of the hoard [Blunt & Lyon 1979]. This leaves a possibility (although admittedly very small) that a few pre-reform coins could have been included. As to the Chester hoard it is well enough documented to exclude the possibility of any earlier coins in the hoard.

The difference in composition between the Iona hoard, dominated by pre-reform pennies and the group of English hoards shows how the pre-reform coins could remain in circulation outside England after the reform. Non-English hoards are scarce from the first two decades after the reform. When they once more become more plentiful in the 990s, they usually do not contain any pre-reform coins. The two major hoards from England (Oakham and Chester), on the other hand, are evidence of how regulated the currency was in England. They also provide ample information of how effectively the reform removed old coins from circulation, and they show that within little more than half a decade the currency in England had changed drastically.

It is unfortunate that the small hoard from Welwyn (BI 173) is so poorly documented, as it is the only hoard from England where both pre-reform and Reform coins occur together. Its proper dating is also uncertain, but the one coin of Edward the Martyr does not preclude a date of deposit early in his reign, i.e. a very short time after the reform itself. In any event it cannot drastically change the evidence in favor of a very rapid recoinage.

The two important hoards are of course Oakham (BI 175) and Chester (BI 174), both from the north of England. The major query that still surrounds Oakham is the presence or absence of Hand coins. In the reconstruction by Blunt and Lyon there was no contemporary record that mentioned Hand pennies and the problem was hence not discussed. Subsequent findings, however, suggest that some First Hand pennies were present [Blackburn & Pagan 1986, 305]. The small but significant number of First Hand pennies in some 18th century collections [Early acquisitions to the BM; Hunter collection at Glasgow, etc.], could also point to a connection with the Oakham hoard. This suggested First Hand element in the Oakham hoard was probably not larger than 10-20% of the total number of coins in the hoard. The solution of the problem is not of crucial importance for the

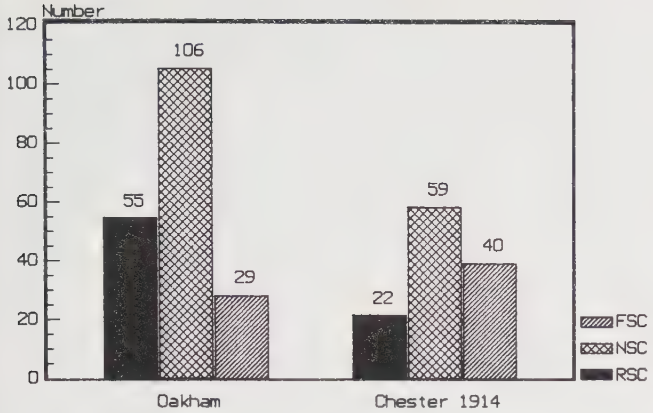


Fig. 4.25. The typological composition of the English hoards with coins of the Reform issue.

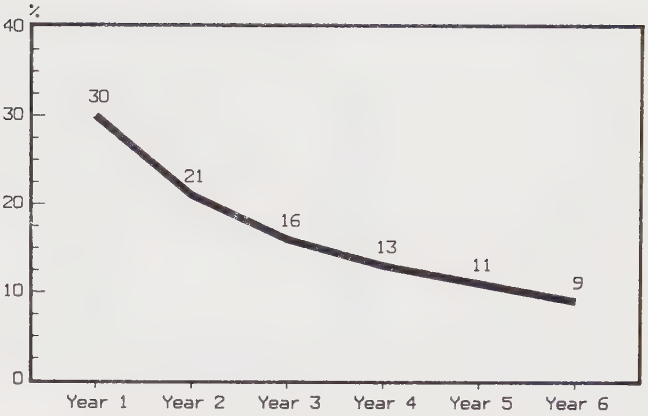


Fig. 4.26. Model of the size of the coinage during the Reform issue.

discussion of the Reform issue here, as there already is one other hoard (Chester) where coins of the First Hand type occur in numbers.

A system of periodic recoinages would in theory be reflected in the composition of the hoards, and only single type hoards could be expected. The Chester hoard (and possibly Oakham) would seem to contradict this theory right from the start, but it is important to remember that the later type constitutes only 9% of the total in Chester (and probably not much more if present in Oakham). The composition would have been much more difficult to explain, if the Reform issue and the Hand element had been of the same size. In this case it is clear that the hoard reflects the change from one type to another, and some time must be allowed for the recoinage to come into full effect.

The hoards from Oakham and Chester show the same overall pattern regarding the relative number of coins for the three reigns, but with a more pronounced FSC element in Chester (fig. 4.25). Judging from these two hoards the bulk of the coinage was struck in NSC and a surprisingly high share in FSC.

If an attempt is made to estimate the relative coinage based on the number of coins in the Oakham and Chester hoards, there are three unknown factors to consider. The first is when the coinage began and when it ceased. The second is the level of production during the issue. The third is the annual wastage rate. Estimations of the coinage, assuming that the Reform issue was struck for the six years 973-9, are given in table 4.8 [The figures for Edward the Martyr are based on a rule of three years, which is 10% longer than his actual time as king]. The first estimate assumes that the production was of equal (unadjusted) size every year. The second estimate assumes a annual drop of 30% in the coinage the first year which is adjusted 20% annually to compensate for wastage. The effect is illustrated in fig. 4.26, which shows the figures for each in per cent of the entire issue, and how the production is levelling off. The third estimate is based on the second estimate but also includes an estimated annual 20% wastage rate and the figures presented would apply to coins in circulation at the end of the issue.

	Edgar	Edward	Æthelred II
1. Estimated share of coinage (unadjusted)	33%	50%	17%
2. Estimated share of coinage (adjusted)	52%	39%	9%
3. Estimated share of currrency	35%	47%	18%
Oakham (share of the number of coins)	29%	56%	15%
Danelaw, York, and Mercia	19%	63%	18%
Remainder	49%	43%	8%
Chester (share of the number of coins)	18%	49%	33%
Danelaw, York, and Mercia	11%	46%	43%
Remainder	40%	53%	7%

Table 4.8. Estimations of the comparative size of the coinage during the Reform issue with comparative figures based on the number of coins in the Oakham and Chester hoards.

The figures show that the adjustment made for an assumed decrease in production is almost compensated by the assumed wastage rate. The comparative relative figures differ for the number of coins in the Oakham and Chester hoards. The trend for the figures for Oakham are similar compared to the estimation of the currency with 29% and 35% respectively for Edgar, 56% and 47% respectively for Edward the Martyr, and 15% and 18% respectively for Æthelred II.

It is not to be expected that two individual hoards would reflect the currency in exactly the same way, and each of the different figures represented by the Oakham and Chester hoards is probably biassed in one or the other direction. Also involved is whether or not First hand pennies were included in the Oakham hoard or not, i.e. if the FSC type had come to an end when the hoard was deposited. The Chester hoard has a higher proportion of the most recent coins of the issue (FSC) with 33% compared to 15% for Oakham. If the hoards are divided into two parts, where one part constitutes coins struck in the nearby mints (Danelaw, York, and Mercia), and the other part constitutes coins from other mints, it is possible to judge if the higher share of recent coins is caused by locally struck coins. The figures in table 4.8 show that the share for FSC in the Chester hoard for the two areas is 6:1, but only 2.25:1 in the Oakham hoard. It is thus evident that the high proportion of recent coins is dependent on a higher share of locally struck coins. As production at individual mints must

		Oakham		Chester	
Wessex	Canterbury	3-1-0=4		3-0-1=4	
	Exeter	1-1-0=2		0-0-0=0	
	Guildford	0-0-0=0		0-1-0=1	
	Hertford	0-1-0=1		0-0-0=0	
	Lewes	1-1-0=2		0-0-0=0	
	Lympne	1-3-0=4		1-2-0=3	
	Oxford	2-2-0=4		1-1-0=2	
	Rochester	1-0-0=1		2-3-0=5	
	Southampton	0-0-0=0		2-0-0=2	
	Totnes	0-0-0=0		0-0-1=1	
	Wilton	3-0-1=4		0-2-0=2	
	Winchester	3-5-0=8	15-14-1=30	3-1-0=4	12-10-2=24
London	London	3-3-1=7	3-3-1=7	0-2-0=2	0-2-0=2
East Anglia	Ipswich	1-1-1=3		0-1-0=1	
	Norwich	1-1-1=3		0-2-0=2	
	Thetford	3-1-0=4	5-3-2=10	0-1-0=1	0-4-0=4
Danelaw	Bedford	1-5-2=8		0-7-5=12	
	Caistor	0-1-1=2		0-0-1=1	
	Cambridge	0-1-0=1		0-0-0=0	
	Derby	1-1-3=5		1-0-7=8	
	Horncastle	0-0-0=0		0-0-1=1	
	Leicester	0-0-0=0		1-0-0=1	
	Lincoln	3-21-7=31		0-7-11=18	
	Louth?	0-0-0=0		0-1-0=1	
	Newark	1-1-0=2		0-0-0=0	
	Northampton	4-5-1=10		5-4-0=9	
	Stamford	6-37-3=46		2-13-4=19	
	Tamworth	0-1-0=1	16-73-17=106	0-2-2=4	9-34-31=74
Mercia	Chester	0-2-0=2		0-3-4=7	
	Gloucester	1-1-0=2		0-0-0=0	
	Shrewsbury	1-0-0=1		0-0-0=0	
	Winchcombe	1-0-0=1	3-3-0=6	0-0-0=0	0-3-4=7
Northumbria	York	7-9-8=24	7-9-8=24	1-4-3=8	1-4-3=8
Total			49-105-29=183		22-57-40=119

Table 4.9. Number of coins of the Reform issue for each mint in the Oakham and Chester hoards. The first column denotes coins of Edgar, the second coins of Edward and the third coins of Æthelred II. Totals are given for each area. Coins not attributed to mint are excluded.

have developed differently during the Reform issue, it is necessary to compare the figures for all mints with figures for the individual mints.

The regional bias of the two northern hoards has been pointed out in several comments. As Blunt & Lyon showed, their composition on this basis is strikingly similar [Blunt & Lyon 1979, 120]. Although the hoards were found 100 miles apart, it is clear that to a very large extent they were collected in the same general area. This is also clear from table 4.9, where a breakdown by mints is shown.

The chronological distribution is interesting. In the Oakham hoard the share of Wessex, London, East Anglia and Mercia is highest during RSC, while it is exceptionally high during NSC in the Danelaw, and highest in FSC in Northumbria. In the Chester hoard the highest figures are found in Wessex and Northumbria during RSC, in London and East Anglia during NSC, and finally in the Danelaw and Mercia in FSC. Besides similar trends the Oakham hoard seems to be biassed with regard to East Anglia and York in FSC, while the Chester hoard is biassed with regard to London and East Anglia during NSC and to Mercia during FSC. The number of coins from Northumbria is remarkably even throughout the period. Judging from the hoards the peak production in the south was during Edgar and Edward, while in the north it coincides with Edward and Æthelred II.

On a geographical basis the Danelaw is very strongly represented in both hoards, with Wessex in second place and Northumbria in third place. Regarding individual mints there is a limited number that are represented by five coins or more. Stamford and Lincoln have the highest number of coins in both hoards, with York third in the Oakham hoard, and Bedford third in the Chester hoard. Not a single mint in Wessex (including London) and East Anglia has more than one coin in FSC. Stamford, Lincoln, Bedford, Derby appear over-represented in NSC and FSC in both hoards, and the same is true for Chester in the Chester hoard. Leister and Northampton are two mints that break the trend, as the latter is strong in RSC and NSC but only has one coin (Oakham) in FSC. The former is even more strange, as the Oakham hoard is deposited half way between Leicester and Stamford, yet in spite of this Leicester is not represented at all in Oakham and only by a single coin in the Chester hoard. Mercia is represented by a few coins in Oakham, while, with the exception of the Chester mint, it is totally absent in the Chester hoard.

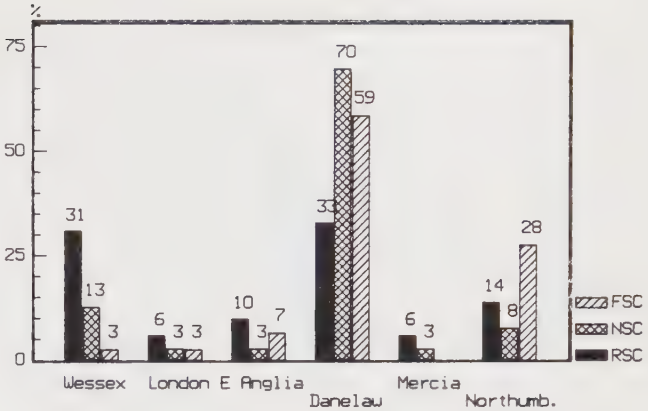


Fig. 4.27. The geographical composition of the Oakham hoard.

Table 4.10 shows how the regional distribution changes over time. The percentage figures for each hoard are also shown graphically in figs. 4.27 and 4.28. The progressive drop in the percentage figures for Wessex is particularly striking. London is by comparison consistently weak, especially in the Chester hoard. The Danelaw is the leading area throughout the issue in Oakham and only surpassed by Wessex during Edgar in Chester. The gradual increase for Mercia in the Chester hoard is no doubt connected with the location of the find. Northumbria is particularly strong in FSC in the

	Edgar				Edward				Æthelred II			
	Oakham		Chester		Oakham		Chester		Oakham		Chester	
Wessex	15	31%	12	55%	14	13%	10	18%	1	3%	2	5%
London	3	6%	0	0%	3	3%	2	3%	1	3%	0	0%
East Anglia	5	10%	0	0%	3	3%	4	7%	2	7%	0	0%
Danelaw	16	33%	9	41%	73	70%	34	60%	17	59%	31	78%
Mercia	3	6%	0	0%	3	3%	3	5%	0	0%	4	10%
Northumbria	7	14%	1	4%	9	8%	4	7%	8	28%	3	7%
Total	49	100%	22	100%	105	100%	57	100%	29	100%	40	100%

Table 4.10. Regional distribution for each reign in the Oakham and Chester hoards. Coins not attributed to mints are excluded.

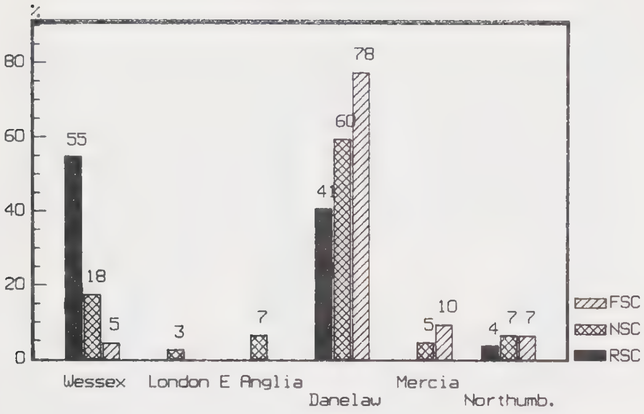


Fig. 4.28. The geographical composition of the Chester 1914 hoard.

Oakham hoard. In many respects the table gives a more nuanced picture of developments in northern England during the early part of the Reform issue than was apparent from the above survey based on the mints. It indicates that the coinage was large in the Danelaw even during the early stage of the reform, and that it became progressively stronger in Northumberland.

Though they are very small, the two finds from southern England are most interesting in comparison, as they should be able to give a clue to the composition of the coins circulating in that part of England. The Edgar penny in Spettisbury Ring is from the nearby mint of Totnes, while that of Edward was struck at Stamford. In Welwyn the mint was Winchester on the only penny of the Reform issue which could be identified. Much is thus left to coincidence when the mint is known only for three of the coins with a southern provenance, as a northern or a southern bias can be decided on the basis of one single coin. As matters now stand, however, it cannot be ignored that two of the three coins are in fact from southern mints, which is a radical difference compared to Oakham and Chester and indicates that local bias was probably as pronunced among the coins in circulation in the south as it was in the north.

In conclusion, the English hoards from both the northern and southern parts show a regional bias, but it is important to realize that coins struck at mints all over England are represented in the northern hoards. In the north the bias is evidently exaggerated by the fact that the local production showed a progressive increase. Despite this bias a comparison with the composition of the Tetney hoard (BI 141) deposited before the reform and situated not too far from Oakham is remarkable. In the Tetney hoard 100% of the coins were struck in the Danelaw and Northumbria as against 71% in the Oakham hoard as a whole and 47% if only the RSC element is counted. The latter figure might represent a better measure of how the composition of the currency had changed since some time must be allowed for the coins to mix.

The element represented by the Reform issue in hoards found in the British Isles outside England is very small. The two coins in the Iona (BI 180) and Kildare (BI 183) hoards respectively are both from a northern mint (Northampton). As such they still reflect the strong northern bias in the non-English hoards which is characteristic in the pre-reform period before the shift to coins struck at southern mints beginning with the First Hand type of Æthelred II. The same is true of the two coins in the hoard from Laugharne (BI 172) where the mint has been identified (Chester and Lincoln), while the mint is not known on the third coin which is a fragment.

The low level of the coin export from England during the Reform issue and just before the reform was discussed in the section dealing with the pre-reform coinage. The reason behind this is possibly connected with the fact that the Norse population in Northumbria gradually lost much of its contacts with their countrymen in Ireland and the Isles by becoming naturalized in the last quarter of the tenth century, a trend that was not counteracted by immigration. Following the reform the increased occurrence of Scandinavian names among the moneyers at York [Smart 1986, 178], might reflect a trend among the Scandinavian population to activities other than trade. The development in Ireland and the Isles is likely to have followed a similar pattern. The result would probably be a decline in trade and less contacts, and hence fewer English coins would reach both Ireland and the Isles. The implication would then also be that the coinage in Dublin started not to compete with that of the English in Ireland but more in order to supply a need that English coins could no longer fill adequately.

B) Stray finds

Metcalf has listed the known stray finds from England and Wales of Anglo-Saxon coins from the period c. 973-1087 [Metcalf 1980, 36-46]. It forms the basis for the list in table 4.11, which includes five finds made subsequently.

In the late Anglo-Saxon period hoards are, for various reasons, often located in different areas during different periods, but as for the stray finds there is no reason why they should be more abundant in a certain area during a certain period. In general the stray finds from the late Anglo-Saxon period show no regional concentration, but in the Reform

Wessex	Averly, Essex	Edgar	Lympne
	Bere Regis, Dorset	Edward	[Mint?]
	Landport, Sussex	Edward	London
	West Mersea, Essex	Edward	Lympne
East Anglia	Castle Acre, Norfolk	Edward	Derby
	Shrubland Hall, Suffolk	Edward	York
Danelaw	Alford (near), Lincolnshire	Æthelred II	York
	Biggleswade, Bedfordshire	Edward	Bedford
	Grimsby (near), Lincolnshire	Æthelred II	York
	Tamworth, Staffordshire	Edward	Torksey
Mercia	Meols, Cheshire	Edgar	York
	Meols, Cheshire	Edward	Stamford
	Much Marcle, Herefordshire	Æthelred II	Lincoln
Northumbria	York, Yorkshire	Æthelred II	York
Wales	Caer Gybi, Anglesey, Gwynedd	Edward	Northampton

Table 4.11. Stray finds of coins of the Reform issue (excluding uncertain finds).

issue it was, surprisingly enough, very pronounced up to a few years ago. A number of recent finds have meant that the distribution of the finds is becoming less unbalanced. Of a total of fifteen finds four are now found in the south of England (Wessex and Essex).

Compared with the situation in the pre-reform period six of the fifteen coins (equal to 40%) were struck outside the area where the respective finds were made. Of the six coins, four come from Mercia and from East Anglia and in both areas they constitute the totality of the finds. This could indicate that the supply of local coins was inadequate in these two areas. The coins found in Northumbria, the Danelaw, and Wessex are all confined to locally struck coins.

The chronological composition is very different in the individual areas:

	Wessex	East Anglia	Danelaw	Mercia	Northumbria
RSC	1	–	–	1	–
NSC	3	2	1	2	–
FSC	–	–	2	1	1

The finds from East Anglia and Mercia, which do not represent local mints are centered on Edward. The finds from Wessex are confined to Edgar and Edward, while the Danelaw finds are limited to Edward and Æthelred II, and the single coin from Northumbria is from Æthelred II. Thus the stray finds confirm the indication given by the Oakham and Chester hoards that the coinage in the south was largest during Edgar and Edward, while it reached a peak during Edward and Æthelred II in the Danelaw and Northumbria. In the two latter areas the lack of early coins (RSC) from the south and the fact that three out of four coins found in the two areas belong to is surprising. In view of the short time during which FSC was in circulation the earlier types of Edgar and Edward would have been more likely candidates to have been lost during the issue. It may, however, be an indication that the withdrawal of coins connected with the introduction of First Hand was not as rapid in the north. It also implies, as the hoards do, that the Reform issue had a slower start in northern England.

4.6.2 France and northern Europe

A) Hoards

With the exception of France, the areas covered here are so far away from England that they are best dealt with together, although the material will be grouped in areas or subareas depending on the prevailing conditions. A general summary of the coins in the finds is given in table 4.12, and the figures are also shown graphically in fig. 4.29. Throughout this section the countries covered under the major areas are: Scandinavia (Iceland, Norway, Denmark, Sweden, and Finland), the West Slav lands (Germany and Poland), and the East Slav lands (the Soviet Union).

The three coins of Edward found in France all come from the Fecamp hoard, and all are struck at mints in ports along the Channel [Lympne and Southampton] . The individual figures for the Scandinavian countries (excluding Sweden) are: Iceland 1-0-0=1; Norway 5-1-3=9; Denmark 11-6-4=21; Finland 0-1-1=2. The number of hoards involved are: Sweden

	France	Sweden	Remainder Scandinavia	W. Slav	E. Slav	Total
Edgar	–	135	17	6	5	163
Edward	3	52	8	3	3	69
Æthelred II	–	32	8	4	1	45
Edgar-Æthelred II	–	4	–	2	–	6
	3	223	33	15	9	283

Table 4.12. Summary of the number of coins of the Reform issue found outside the British Isles. Excluded from the table are one and two coins of Edgar of uncertain type found in Norway and the West Slav lands, respectively. Unprovenanced coins are included if they can be assumed to derive from local finds [Four of the unprovenanced coins in Leningrad are included above, while all or part of the remaining four were probably acquired in England and originally from the Oakham hoard (BI 175), see Dolley & Blunt 1967, 55].

– 86 (of which Gotland – 62), Iceland – 1, Norway – 6, Denmark – 9, Finland – 2, West Slav lands – 7, and East Slav lands – 4. The dominating position of Scandinavia is a reflection of the fact that it is by far the richest area for finds of Anglo-Saxon coins in general. It is interesting to note that with the exception of France the proportion of coins from each reign is similar and does not correspond to the English hoards from Oakham and Chester. On the contrary they indicate a declining coinage over time. This is, however, not conclusive because, as pointed out above, coins struck early within the issue stand a much better chance of being withdrawn from circulation for the simple reason that they are in circulation for a much longer period.

The Scandinavian material must of course be interpreted with caution when connected to the developments in England, but there are some interesting indications. The rapid growth in the import of coins which coincides with the reform in England shows that pre-reform coins were not available in numbers in England when the growth began and hence that the withdrawal of old coins from circulation was effective.

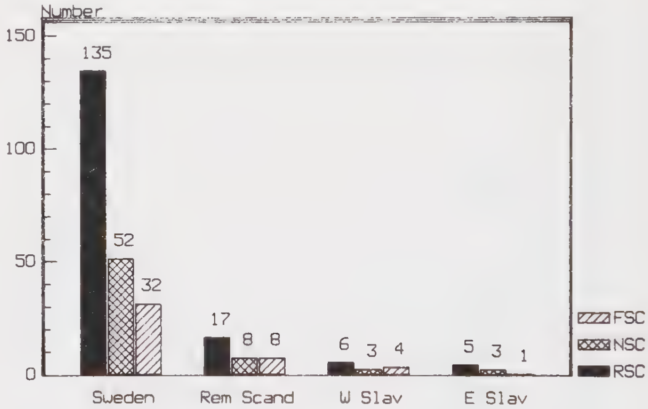


Fig. 4.29. The typological composition of the non-British hoards.

What could be taken as an indication that some pre-reform coins were still in circulation for a time are the eight Scandinavian hoards, which contain both pre-reform and reform coins. They are listed in table 4.13. There is only a

	Edward	Athelstan	Edmund	Edred	Edwig	Edgar	RSC	NSC	FSC
Aalborg (DS 11)	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	–	–
Hägvalls (G 19)	–	1	–	–	–	–	1	–	2
Gaulverjabær (I 7)	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	1	–
Nygårds (G 143)	1	–	–	–	–	–	6	1	–
Smiss (G 67)	1	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	1
Undrom (S 88)	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	1	–
Vaalse (DS 22)	–	–	1	–	–	–	1	2	1
Värpinge (DS 43)	–	–	–	–	–	1	2	1	–

Table 4.13. Scandinavian hoards containing coins struck before as well as after the reform.

single pre-reform coin in each of the hoards and it should be noted that no more than half of them are from the reign of Edgar, while two are as early as Edward the Elder and one as early as Athelstan. This is the more striking as all three oldest coins are found on Gotland. The only other pre-reform coin found on Gotland is of a late variety of Edgar's Two-line type. It is an indication that the coin import from England to Gotland began in the transition phase or immediately before the reform. This makes it hard to believe that the pre-reform and reform elements in these hoards are in any way connected. It would rather appear that they arrived there via Denmark which, judging from the finds, had a small import of coins from England throughout the tenth century. As a majority of the Reform elements in two of the hoards are from southern mints (the exception being Hägvalls where however two out of three coins are of the FSC type), it would also exclude the possibility that they arrived via areas in the British Isles outside of England. Of the four pre-reform coins of Edgar, two are from old Danish territories and one from Iceland while the fourth is from northern Sweden. One of the Danish finds (Aalborg klostermark – DS 11) is interesting because its Reform element is a Lincoln penny of Edgar's reign, and the pre-reform coin is of a late variety of the Two-line type. It would not be inconsistent if the two coins were acquired in northern England during the early phase of the reform. As both Denmark and Iceland had a minor import of coins before the reform, it cannot, however, be ruled out that all the coins were mixed in these areas at a late date. The possible exceptions that some of the eight hoards constitute, do not gainsay the impression given by all the other hoards, namely, that the reform was very effective in removing pre-reform coins from circulation in England. It is also apparent that the coins of the Reform issue that ended up in Scandinavia only exceptionally come from an area of the British Isles outside England, or they would have been accompanied by an even larger number of pre-reform coins that were still in circulation in those areas.

It is of course possible to argue that a large part of the Reform coins in Scandinavian hoards were imported at a much later date than that of their striking, which would then suggest that the recoinage connected with the introduction of First hand was not effective. The many hoards found in Scandinavia that end with the Reform issue are, however, a very good measure of the fact that the import was much larger beginning with the Reform issue. The total number of hoards that belong to this category are no fewer than eleven [DS 11, DS 16-18, G 1-3, G 5-6, G 11, and G 40], besides one in Estonia [E 2] and two in Poland [W 6, W 29]. This can be compared with 23 hoards in Scandinavia that end with one of the Hand types [DS 14, DS 20-3, DS 28, DS 46, G 10, G 16-24, G 36-7, G 119, S 19-20, S 29].

Table 4.14 shows the composition of the Swedish hoards combined, as well as the remaining hoards from northern Europe (i.e. excluding France) combined.

		Sweden		Rest of northern Europe	
Wessex	Barnstaple	1-0-0=1		0-0-0=0	
	Canterbury	5-3-0=8		1-0-0=1	
	Chichester	2-0-0=2		0-0-0=0	
	Exeter	5-2-3=10		2-0-1=3	
	Ilchester	1-0-0=1		0-0-0=0	
	Lewes	2-0-2=4		1-1-0=2	
	Lydford	0-3-0=3		0-0-0=0	
	Lympne	2-2-1=5		1-1-0=2	
	Maldon	1-0-0=1		1-0-0=1	
	Malmesbury	0-0-0=0		1-0-0=1	
	Oxford	14-1-0=15		2-0-0=2	
	Rochester	2-0-0=2		0-0-0=0	
	Shaftesbury	1-1-0=2		0-1-0=1	
	Southampton	1-2-2=5		0-0-0=0	
	Wareham	2-0-0=2		0-0-0=0	
	Wilton	7-2-0=9		0-0-1=1	
	Winchester	20-8-1=29	66-24-9=99	2-0-0=2	11-3-2=16
London	London	5-5-1=11	5-5-1=11	3-1-0=4	3-1-0=4
East Anglia	Ipswich	4-1-0=5		1-0-0=1	
	Norwich	6-1-0=7		0-0-0=0	
	Thetford	3-2-0=5	13-4-0=17	1-1-0=2	2-1-0=3
Danelaw	Bedford	6-1-2=9		0-0-0=0	
	Buckingham	0-2-0=2		0-0-0=0	
	Caistor	0-0-1=1		0-0-0=0	
	Cambridge	2-0-0=2		0-1-0=1	
	Horncastle	0-0-1=1		0-0-0=0	
	Leicester	7-0-0=7		2-0-0=2	
	Lincoln	5-3-4=12		1-1-3=5	
	Newark	1-0-0=1		0-0-0=0	
	Northampton	3-1-1=5		0-0-2=2	
	Stamford	5-4-4=13		1-3-2=6	
	Tamworth	0-3-0=3	29-14-13=56	0-0-0=0	4-5-7=16
Mercia	Chester	7-1-0=8		2-0-1=3	
	Gloucester	3-0-0=3		0-0-0=0	
	Hereford	1-0-0=1		0-0-0=0	
	Shrewsbury	1-0-0=1		2-0-0=2	
	Stafford	1-0-0=1		1-0-0=1	
	Warwick	1-0-0=1		0-0-0=0	
	Worcester	0-0-1=1	14-1-1=16	0-0-0=0	5-0-1=6
Northumbria	York	7-3-7=17	7-3-7=17	2-4-3=9	2-4-3=9
Total			134-51-31=216		27-14-13=54

Table 4.14. Number of coins of the Reform issue for each mint in the Swedish hoards and hoards from the remainder of northern Europe. The first column denotes coins of Edgar, the second coins of Edward and the third coins of Æthelred II. Totals are given for each area. Coins not attributed to a mint are excluded.

The Swedish figures show a progressive decrease for Wessex, East Anglia, and Mercia, while they level off and even exhibit a minute rise at the end in the Danelaw, while in Northumbria they are on the same level at the beginning and the end but exhibit a sharp drop in between. The figures for London are evenly low up to the end, when they too drop sharply. The figures for the non-Swedish finds involve a larger element of chance, as they are based on far fewer coins, and only the figures for the Danelaw and Northumbria are radically different. In the Danelaw there is a progressive increase, while in Northumbria there is a peak in the middle. The figures for the latter two areas are consequently contradictory to those for Sweden.

In comparison with the English hoard from Oakham the pattern for Sweden is similar for Wessex, London, and East Anglia and dissimilar for the remainder. Based on this result the Swedish figures could be interpreted as representing the currency in southern England during the Reform issue. The non-Swedish figures are in general more in line with the English hoards and thus seem to reflect the currency in northern England.

As the individual Swedish and non-Swedish hoards usually contain just a few Reform pennies and are found in areas where the currency was not regulated they can generally not provide information on the currency in England. The great majority of the hoards which contain at least four Reform pennies have a mixed composition from southern and northern mints. This would indicate a fairly mobile currency in England. Öster Ryftes (G 122) has eight coins, of which one is from East Anglia and the remainder from Wessex. Nygårds (G 143) has seven coins, of which two are from Mercia, one from the Danelaw, and the remainder from Wessex. Karls (G 149) has one coin from the Danelaw and the remaining four from Wessex. Reslöv (DS 31) has thirty-one attributed coins, of which five are from East Anglia, two from Mercia, four from the Danelaw, and the remaining ten from Wessex. Of seventeen attributed coins in Igelösa (DS 52) there are two each from East Anglia and Mercia, four from the Danelaw, while the remaining nine are from Wessex. Exceptionally the coins are exclusively from the north or south. The seven coins in the Digeråkra hoard (G 71) all come from mints in Wessex. In the Slupsk hoard (W 23) all four pennies were struck in the Danelaw and Northumbria. One remarkable hoard is of great value in two respects. It is the Sigsarve hoard (G 172) with five pennies (RSC – 4, NSC – 1) which clearly were collected in Mercia. There is one coin each of Gloucester, Shrewsbury, and Warwick, as well as two coins from mints in the Danelaw, Newark and Stamford. It would seem to demonstrate that local coins did dominate the currency in western and central Mercia. This contradicts the evidence of the English stray finds, where however two finds belong to the extreme northern part and only one to the central parts. The Sigsarve hoard also contain a First Hand penny of Shrewsbury of the very early variety with a left-facing bust, which could well indicate a connection with the Reform parcel. If so, it suggests that coins of Edgar account for a large part of the Reform coinage in the area, as they dominated the currency even at the end of the issue.

In the combined totals for Sweden the figures for some mints should be noted. Winchester is very dominant in Wessex. Oxford under Edgar ranks second in all England on account of the many surving coins of the moneyer Wulfræd. This prolific moneyer has also attracted comment before [Dolley, Lundström & van der Meer 1967, 63], the remarkable thing being that so many of the coins are die-duplicates. Coins from London are few throughout the issue. Chester is very well represented during Edgar, but then it drops very rapidly. From the Danelaw there is not a single coin of Derby, while Bedford and Leicester are prominent under Edgar, after which the latter disappears altogether. The figures for Stamford remain virtually stable during the entire issue.

	Edgar				Edward				Æthelred II			
	Sweden		Others		Sweden		Others		Sweden		Others	
Wessex	66	49%	11	41%	24	44%	3	21%	9	29%	2	15%
London	5	4%	3	11%	5	13%	1	7%	1	3%	0	0%
East Anglia	13	10%	2	7%	4	8%	1	7%	0	0%	0	0%
Danelaw	29	21%	4	15%	14	27%	5	36%	13	42%	7	54%
Mercia	14	10%	5	19%	1	2%	0	0%	1	3%	1	8%
Northumbria	7	5%	2	7%	3	6%	4	29%	7	23%	3	23%
Total	134	100%	27	100%	51	100%	14	100%	31	100%	13	100%

Table 4.15. Regional distribution for each reign in the Swedish hoards and in other hoards from northern Europe. Coins not attributed to mints are excluded.

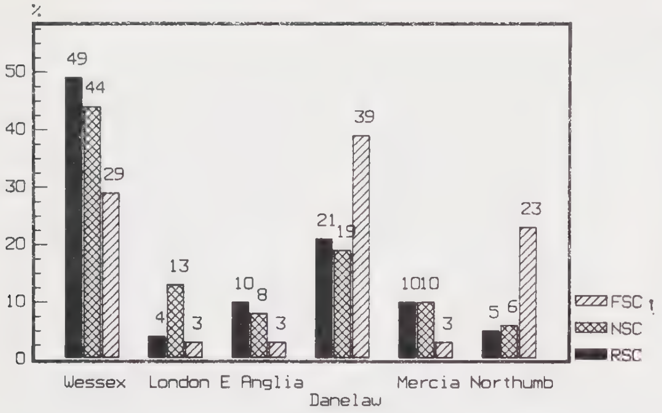


Fig. 4.30. The geographical composition of the Swedish hoards.

The regional share of the coinage over time is shown in table 4.15. The percentage figures are also shown graphically in figs. 4.30 and 4.31. In the Swedish material Wessex only loses its leading position during Æthelred II when the Danelaw is slightly ahead after having been second before. Northumbria is increasing its relative output throughout the issue, while the opposite is true for East Anglia. Mercia also falls back after an initial peak, and London is actually only noticeable under Edward.

The non-Swedish figures basically show the same trends, although they are more susceptible to chance since the figures are constantly low. The figures for the Danelaw climb even more dramatically, and the figures for Northumbria are higher.

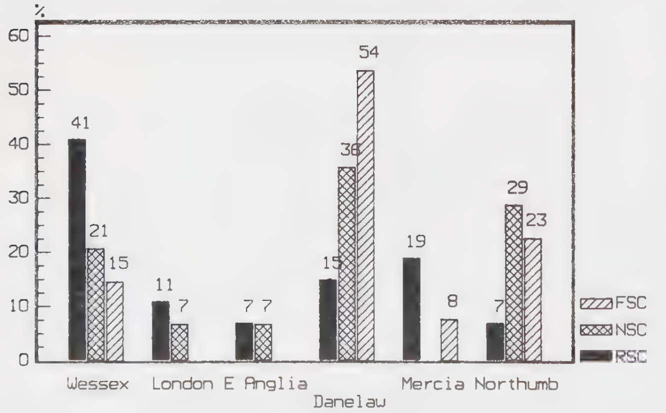


Fig. 4.31. The geographical composition of the North-European hoards (except Sweden).

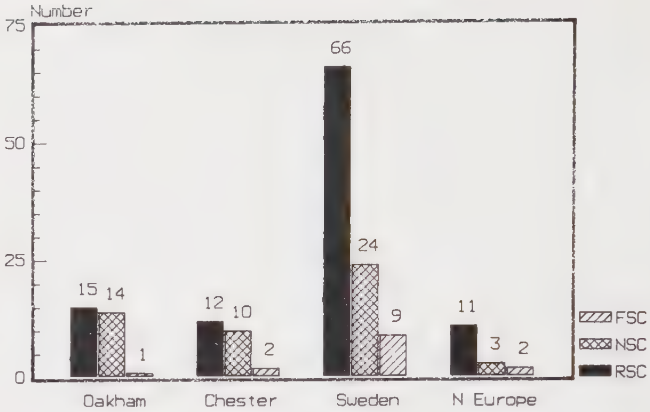


Fig. 4.32. Coins of Wessex in the hoards.

4.6.3. Conclusions

While the English hoards represent the currency in the north, the coins found in Sweden are probably mainly obtained in southern England. The number of non-Swedish finds is small and thus easily biassed, and the Slav hoards in general have a more northern connection. The Swedish figures confirm some views connected with the English finds, while contradicting certain others.

The English and the non-English hoards can be compared on a geographical basis with the help of graphs showing the number of coins, where the figures for Northern Europe include all non-British areas except France and Sweden. The Wessex element (fig. 4.32) shows a progressive decrease, which is nominal from RSC to NSC in the English hoards, but

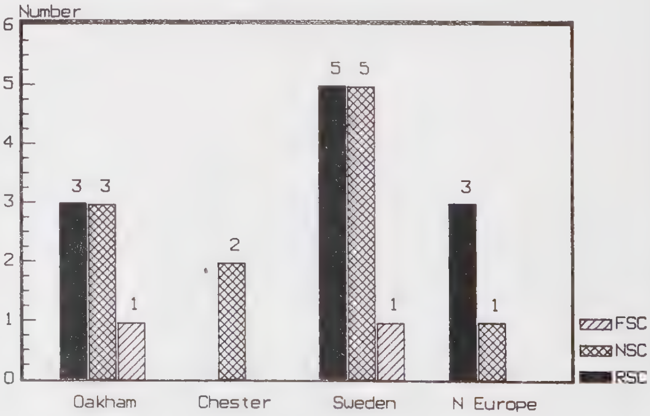


Fig. 4.33. Coins of London in the hoards.

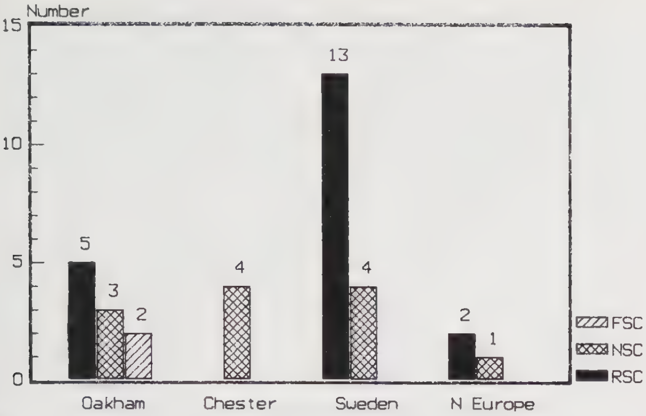


Fig. 4.34. Coins of East Anglia in the hoards.

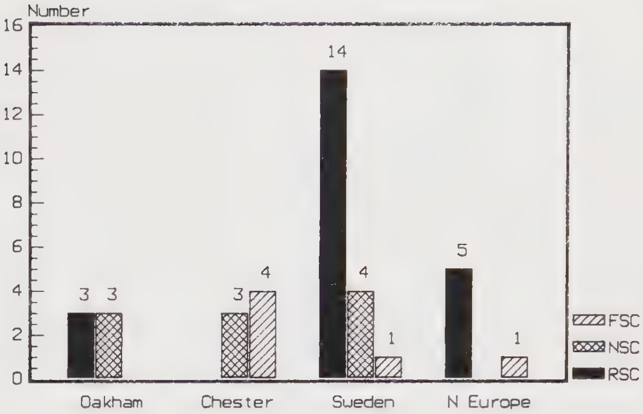


Fig. 4.36. Coins of Mercia in the hoards.

consistent in the Swedish hoards, and levels off in FSC in the non-Swedish hoards. It should be pointed out that Oxford is exceedingly well represented in RSC in the Swedish hoards. Taken together it is evident that the coinage was low in FSC, while the evidence is mixed concerning the development from RSC to NSC.

The coinage in London (fig. 4.33) was consistently low. The material is very limited and hence every single coin will have a large impact on our interpretation. However, the production was obviously on the same level from RSC to NSC and then drops to a very low level during FSC.

The progressive decrease in the production in East Anglia is reflected in all the figures with the exception of the Chester hoard (fig. 4.34). Taken together the figures show the same development as in Wessex.

In the Danelaw (fig. 4.35) most figures indicate a high and increasing or level production throughout the issue. The Swedish figures in RSC are influenced by the large number of coins from Bedford and Leicester.

The figures for Mercia (fig. 4.36) are very divergent. The Swedish figures are very high during RSC where all three mints in the area are well represented, and they come from a number of hoards. A local bias during NSC and FSC is clearly seen in the Chester hoard, but it is none the less an indication that this area in general is poorly covered in the hoards.

In Northumbria the individual figures vary somewhat (fig. 4.37), but taken together they reveal a high and level production.

A comparison of developments in the different areas based on the combined figures for all hoards is shown in fig. 4.38, from which the divergent pattern in the north-east compared to Mercia and the south is clear.

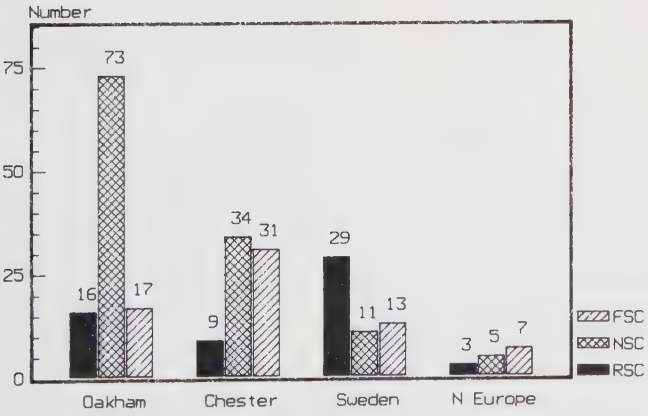


Fig. 4.35. Coins of the Danelaw in the hoards.

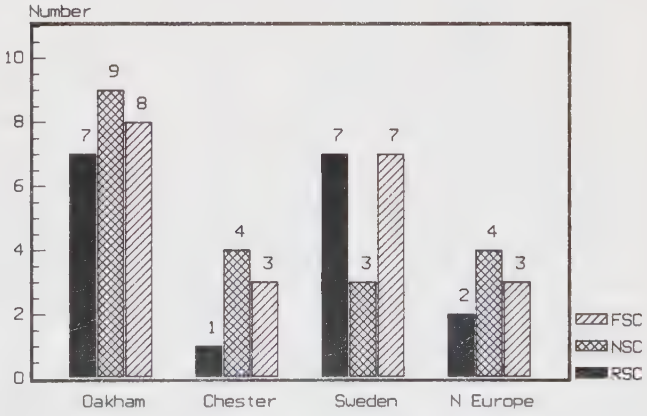


Fig. 4.37. Coins of Northumbria in the hoards.

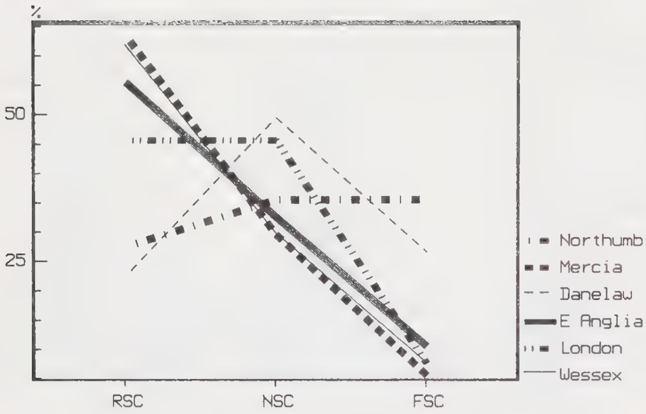


Fig. 4.38. The development of the geographical compositon of all hoards combined.

Even if the finds show that the currency was basically regional, they also show that coins from mints all over England could circulate freely. When the regional production tended to be inadequate (e.g. the Danelaw in RSC and Wessex in FSC), it appears that it was easier for coins from other areas to penetrate the local currency.

4.7. The dies and the size of the coinage

4.7.1 Previous estimates of the size of late Anglo-Saxon types

Metcalf has estimated the coinage for the late Anglo-Saxon types based on the known number of recorded dies at the Lincoln mint. Estimated figures for each type and mint were then calculated based on Lincoln's share of coins compared to other mints in the systematic collections in Copenhagen and Stockholm. The estimated number of 'equivalent' reverse dies and the production for each type is shown in table 4.16 [Metcalf 1981, 63, 72-3, 87]:

	Approximate date	Number of coins	Reverse dies	Millions of coins
Reform	973-79	115	1,031	10
First Hand	979-85	371	2,054	20
Second Hand	985-91	300	1,200	12
Crux	991-7	1,295	4,072	40
Long Cross	997-1003	1,231	1,824	18
Helmet	1003-9	677	1,217	12
Last Small Cross	1009-17	1,774	2,935	30
Quatrefoil	1017-23	2,906	4,655	47
Pointed Helmet	1023-9	2,751	2,233	22
Short Cross	1029-35	1,944	1,439	14
Jewel Cross	1035-8	832	874	9
Fleur-de-Lis	1038-40	919	1,225	12
Arm-and-Sceptre	1040-2	535	602	6
Pacx	1042-4	309	511	5
Radiate	1044-6	419	481	5
Trefoil	1046-8	198	697	7

Table 4.16. Estimations of the size of the coinage according to Metcalf 1981.

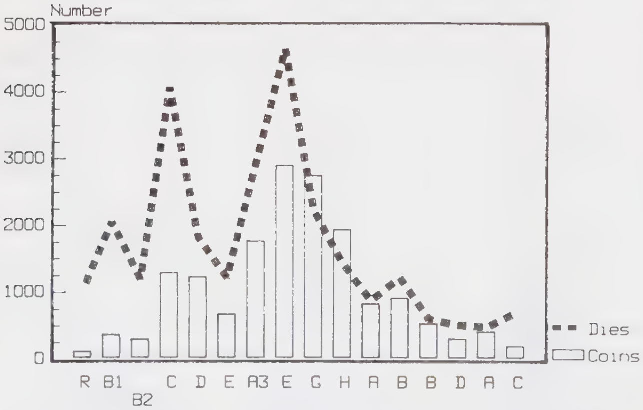


Fig. 4.39. The number of coins and the estimated number of reverse dies during the late Anglo-Saxon period (c. 973–1048). Reform issue (R); Æthelred II (B1–A3); Cnut (E–H); Harold I & Harthacnut (A–B); Edward the Confessor (D–C).

According to these figures the size of the coinage fluctuated considerably from type to type, and Metcalf explained the variations by adding estimates of inflow and outflow of coins caused by trade and Danegelds/Heregelds.

Fig. 4.39 illustrates the relation between the number of recorded coins and the number of estimated dies. The trend from type to type is similar, but until the Quatrefoil type the figures for the number of estimated dies are on a higher level. Some explanations can be offered for this division into two phases.

The Lincoln material provides the basis for the estimates. Here it is evident that the English hoards have provided much of the material for the early part of the first phase. Many Swedish hoards have added substantially to the latter part of the former phase and this additional material accounts for numerous new dies. In the second phase it is obvious that the Copenhagen and Stockholm collections account for a very large share of all the coins recorded at Lincoln since hoards found subsequently contain comparatively few coins from this period. Thus the figures for Lincoln will be overrepresented for the first phase since a corresponding increase has not taken place in the comparative material for other mints which are based solely on the material in the Copenhagen and Stockholm collections.

4.7.2 The Reform issue

Die-identity means that two or more coins were struck from the same obverse or reverse die. If two or more coins share common obverse and reverse dies, then the coins are die duplicates. There are no generally accepted criteria for establishing die-identity, but in one case a method similar to what is required for identifying fingerprints has been used [Hammarberg & Malmer 1982, 53-4]. Such a method requires that each and every coin be compared to one another at the same time in order to observe the necessary tiny die-cracks or other details that in this case will constitute the die-identity. This approach is thus best used when working with one specific hoard or coins in one specific collection.

In the present study the material is to be found in a very large number of public and private collections. Although it has often been possible to compare the actual coins with one another in order to establish die-identity, it has never the less been necessary to work with the help of photographs when a majority of the die-identities were established. In essence this means that die-identity was established with the help of the legend, the position of the letters, the style and execution of the portrait etc. Compared with other contemporary coinages the Anglo-Saxon coins are very well centered and well struck, even though small areas are sometimes less well struck. As the dies were made of iron and consequently sensitive to humidity, quite a number of the coins show sign of being struck from rusty dies. These rust spots also often help to identify a die. For coins found in northern Europe outside the British Isles there is also the additional problem that coins have been bent and pecked or otherwise mutilated. This of course make the die identification more problematic. Finally a die can have been partly recut (se section 4.8, Northampton), although this can be very difficult to establish. In the Reform issue it has been possible to establish that one reverse die was recut in order to include a mint-signature [Edward the Martyr, Northampton, Mancrent]. Normally, however, there are no problems in establishing die-identity.

A summary of the recorded dies in the Reform issue is given in table 4.17. The dies and die-links are recorded in detail in section 4.8.

	Edgar			Edward			Æthelred II			Total		
	Obv. die	Rev. die		Obv. die	Rev. die		Obv. die	Rev. die		Obv. die	Rev. die	
Barnstaple	1	1	(1)	–	–	(-)	–	–	(-)	1	1	(1)
Bath	–	–	(-)	1	1	(1)	–	–	(-)	1	1	(1)
Bedford	6	3	(7)	8	7	(19)	4	4	(8)	18	14	(34)
Buckingham	–	–	(-)	1	1	(2)	–	–	(-)	1	1	(2)
Caistor	–	–	(-)	1	1	(1)	3	3	(3)	4	4	(4)
Cambridge	2	2	(2)	1	1	(1)	–	–	(-)	3	3	(3)
Canterbury	9	8	(14)	4	4	(5)	1	1	(1)	14	13	(20)
Chester	10	7.5	(11)	5	3.5	(5)	2	4	(4)	17	15	(20)
Chichester	3	3	(3)	–	–	(-)	–	–	(-)	3	3	(3)
Derby	1	2	(3)	2	2	(3)	5	7	(10)	8	11	(16)
Dover	1	1	(1)	–	–	(-)	–	–	(-)	1	1	(1)
Exeter	5	6	(7)	1	2	(4)	3	3	(3)	9	11	(14)
Gloucester	4	3	(5)	2	2	(2)	–	–	(-)	6	5	(7)
Guildford	–	–	(-)	1	1	(1)	–	–	(-)	1	1	(1)
Hereford	1	1	(1)	–	–	(-)	–	–	(-)	1	1	(1)
Hertford	1	1	(1)	1	1	(2)	–	–	(-)	2	2	(3)
Horncastle	–	–	(-)	1	1	(1)	1	1	(2)	2	2	(3)
Ilchester	1	1	(1)	–	–	(-)	–	–	(-)	1	1	(1)
Ipswich	6	7	(7)	4	5	(5)	1	1	(1)	11	13	(13)
Leicester	4	4	(10)	–	–	(-)	–	–	(-)	4	4	(10)
Lewes	4	4	(5)	4	3	(4)	1	2	(2)	9	9	(11)
Lincoln	6	6	(12)	14.5	26.5	(49)	11	16.5	(34)	31.5	49	(95)
London	13	13	(17)	10	11	(15)	2	2	(2)	25	26	(34)

Louth?	–	–	(-)	1	1	(1)	–	–	(-)	1	1	(1)
'Lvveic'	–	–	(-)	1	1	(1)	–	–	(-)	1	1	(1)
Lydford	–	–	(-)	1	2	(4)	–	–	(-)	1	2	(4)
Lympne	6	5	(8)	9.6	9	(13)	1	1	(1)	16.6	15	(22)
Maldon	1	1	(1)	–	–	(-)	–	–	(-)	1	1	(1)
Malmesbury	1	1	(1)	–	–	(-)	–	–	(-)	1	1	(1)
Newark	2	1	(2)	1	1	(1)	–	–	(-)	3	2	(3)
Northampton	9	10	(19)	12	12	(16)	3.5	4	(8)	24.5	26	(43)
Norwich	4	4	(9)	2	4	(4)	1	1	(1)	7	9	(14)
Oxford	5	7	(22)	3	3	(4)	–	–	(-)	8	10	(26)
Rochester	5	4.5	(6)	2	2.5	(3)	–	–	(-)	7	7	(9)
Shaftesbury	1	1	(1)	2	2	(2)	1	1	(1)	4	4	(4)
Shrewsbury	5	6	(7)	–	–	(-)	–	–	(-)	5	6	(7)
Southampton	4	4	(4)	2.3	4	(4)	2	2	(2)	8.3	10	(10)
Stafford	2	2	(3)	–	–	(-)	–	–	(-)	2	2	(3)
Stamford	12	17	(29)	42	43.5	(95)	14	14.5	(17)	68	75	(141)
Tamworth	–	–	(-)	5	4	(7)	2	2	(2)	7	6	(9)
Thetford	3	2	(8)	2	3	(5)	1	1	(1)	6	6	(14)
Torksey	–	–	(-)	1	1	(1)	1	1	(1)	2	2	(2)
Totnes	1	1	(1)	–	–	(-)	–	–	(-)	1	1	(1)
Wallingford	1	1	(1)	–	–	(-)	–	–	(-)	1	1	(1)
Wareham	1	1	(2)	–	–	(-)	–	–	(-)	1	1	(2)
Warwick	1	1	(1)	1	1	(1)	–	–	(-)	2	2	(2)
Wilton	6	8	(11)	2	2	(3)	2	2	(2)	10	12	(16)
Winchcombe	1	1	(2)	–	–	(-)	–	–	(-)	1	1	(2)
Winchester	26	26	(32)	11	10	(15)	1	1	(1)	38	37	(48)
Worcester	–	–	(-)	–	–	(-)	1	1	(1)	1	1	(1)
York	25	24.5	(34)	18.5	23.5	(34)	24.5	30	(34)	68	78	(102)
Total	200	202.5	(312)	181	202.5	(334)	89	106	(142)	470	511	(788)

Table 4.17. The number of dies recorded for the individual mints in the Reform issue. Figures within parenthesis denote the number of coins.

There are usually only small differences between the number of obverse and reverse dies that were employed. The figures for some mints, however, are divergent. Lincoln stands apart with a combined ratio of 1:1.55, in spite of the fact that there are no inter-moneyer die-links, and that the ratio is 1:1 in RSC. It is not uncommon at Lincoln that one obverse die is used together with three or four reverse dies. At York there is a 1:1.06 ratio in RSC and a reversed ratio of 1.27:1 and 1.12:1 in NSC and FSC respectively. Here the reversed ratio is due to the large number of dies that were shared between moneyers. A reversed combined ratio of 1.28:1 and 1.14:1 is found at Bedford and Chester respectively, where the ratio in both cases is 1:1 in FSC. It is apparent that the figures reflect different organizations at the different mints. At York the moneyers were obviously working together, while the moneyers at Lincoln seem to have had individual workshops.

The number of surviving coins in relation to the number of recorded dies is a measure of how well the original production is reflected in the available material. On a type by type basis the differences are not insignificant, with an average 1.51 coins to every reverse die in RSC, while the corresponding relation is 1.68:1 in NSC and 1.35:1 in FSC. The figures thus indicate that the coinage in NSC is best covered while the opposite is true for FSC.

The average survival ratios of the dies are, however, very different from mint to mint. The highest ratio is recorded for Leicester and Oxford, with 2.50 coins to every reverse die, followed by Bedford with 2.42:1. Lincoln and Stamford both have an average of almost 2:1. Other mints with a combined average ratio of at least 1.50:1 (and a minimum of three dies represented) are Canterbury, Lympne, Northampton, Norwich, Tamworth, and Thetford. As can be seen nearly all these mints are confined to three geographical groups. The first comprises the Danelaw mints at Bedford, Derby, Lincoln, Northampton, and Stamford. The second group is made up of the East Anglian mints at Norwich and Thetford. The final group is represented by the two Kentish mints at Canterbury and Lympne. Oxford stands alone, based on an exceptional thirteen coins recorded from a single pair of dies of Edgar. The first group is clearly associated with the two English hoards from Chester and Oakham, while the second and third group are probably more connected with foreign trade, since they are all important mints in their respective coastal regions. Based on regions, the mints in the northern Danelaw, East Anglia, and Kent are thus better represented than mints in other regions (Oxford excepted).

On the other hand a number of mints are very poorly represented, i.e. each reverse die is recorded from just a single coin. The most notable mints in this category (minimum four dies) are: Ipswich (13 dies), Southampton (10), Caistor (4), and Shaftesbury (4). Other mints that come close to this ratio of 1:1 are: Lewes 1:1.22 and Shrewsbury 1:1.16. In other words these mints appear to be the most underrepresented. One mint in the first group, Caistor, is located in the Danelaw where other mints are overrepresented (see above), and this may be due to chance since so few coins are involved.

Based on the representation of dies among the surviving coins it thus appears that the best representation among the surviving coins is found for the Danelaw mints as well as mints in East Anglia and Kent, while some southern mints are poorly represented and other southern mints and York range in between. Coins from mints in Mercia are few but they appear in general to be poorly represented.

A) *Estimation of the number of reverse dies*

A large number of papers have been devoted to attempts to estimate the original number of dies employed in a coinage. The easiest method is to use Good's formula [Good 1963 as adopted to numismatics in Carter 1981, 210]:

$$D = nd/n\text{-}F1$$

D = original number of dies, d = number of recorded dies, n = number of recorded coins, and F1 = number of dies known from a single coin.

It has also been suggested that 10% should be added to account for variations in die output. If the aim is to estimate the size of the coinage, using 10,000 coins as the average production of each die, it is not necessary to add 10% to the number of dies since a corresponding figure would make allowance for dies that cracked at an early stage of the production.

Using this formula, the number of orignal reverse dies for the entire Reform issue would be 919, which would give an estimated coinage of 9.2 million coins. Estimated figures for the major individual mints (minimum 10 dies) would be:

	Dies	Coinage
Bedford	17	170,000
Canterbury	23	230,000
Chester	30	300,000
Derby	22	220,000
Exeter	30	300,000
Gloucester	17	170,000
Ipswich	13+	130,000+
Lewes	19	190,000
Lincoln	66	660,000
London	63	630,000
Lympne	30	300,000
Northampton	38	380,000
Norwich	14	140,000
Oxford	12	120,000
Rochester	15	150,000
Shrewsbury	21	210,000
Southampton	10+	100,000+
Stamford	109	1,090,000
Wilton	24	240,000
Winchester	88	880,000
York	198	1,980,000
Major mints	859+	8,590,000+

Any formula has its advantages and disadvantages, and the result will be different if the formula is applied to an entire coinage or if it is calculated mint by mint. For Ipswich and Southampton the coinage could be infinite using Good's formula since there are no reverse duplicates among the surviving coins. It is also instructive of how deficient the formula is when the sample is small. Another example can illustrate this. If the figures for Ipswich, Lincoln, London, Southampton, Stamford, and Winchester, were based on the Swedish hoards alone the estimates would be as follow:

	Dies	Coinage	Per cent of total estimate
Ipswich	5+	50,000+	38
Lincoln	15	150,000	23
London	20	200,000	32
Southampton	5+	50,000+	50
Stamford	13+	130,000+	12
Winchester	168	1,680,000	191

It is clear that Good's formula can give erratic figures and tends to underestimate the coinage if the sample is small, since a major coinage can look small if not enough coins of the original production have survived. The estimates for the total figures compared to the figures of the six selected mints are between five and nine times higher at northern mints, as against only two to three times for southern mints (with Winchester at only half as high). At southern mints the ratio of recorded coins to recorded reverse dies is usually closer to 1:1 than to 2:1. At northern mints the ratio is usually the opposite. It is selfevident that the figures for the northern mints come closer to the truth than the figures for the southern mints. However, it is uncertain if a ratio of 2:1 is large enough for the figures to give a good estimate of the original number of dies. In any event the figures for the selected mints indicate that the number of dies at mints where the ratio of recorded coins to recorded dies is close to 1:1 may be underestimated by an average of perhaps as much as three times. For the total coinage of the Reform issue it would mean that the estimated number of dies could increase from 919 to between 1,500 and 2,000. The estimated production would increase from 9.2 million coins to between 15 and 20 million coins. The bulk of the increase would in both cases come from mints in Wessex but also from East Anglia and Mercia.

It is also clear that the material is biassed and not a random sample of the coinage. A measure of this bias can be gauged from a list of the three highest number of coins recorded from a single reverse die at the major mints (estimated number of reverse dies given within parenthesis).

Bedford	7 – 6 – 4 = 17	(17)
Canterbury	5 – 2 – 2 = 9	(23)
Chester	3 – 2 – 2 = 7	(26)
Derby	4 – 2 – 2 = 8	(22)
Exeter	3 – 2 – 1 = 6	(30)
Leicester	4 – 3 – 2 = 9	(4)
Lewes	2 – 2 – 1 = 5	(19)
Lincoln	5 – 5 – 5 = 15	(66)
London	4 – 3 – 3 = 10	(60)
Lympne	5 – 4 – 2 = 11	(30)
Northampton	5 – 3 – 2 = 10	(38)
Norwich	2 – 2 – 2 = 6	(14)
Oxford	13 – 2 – 2 = 17	(12)
Stamford	8 – 6 – 6 = 20	(109)
Wilton	3 – 2 – 2 = 7	(22)
Winchester	3 – 2 – 2 = 7	(84)
York	6 – 3 – 3 = 12	(198)

The figures again confirm that on average the dies from northern mints are best represented, or rather the mints from the north-east, since the figures for Chester and Derby are lower. Leicester is exceptional since the number of estimated dies is as low as three. In the south the numbers are usually much lower, but Lympne and Oxford have high figures, the latter owing to 12 coins from the best represented die.

B) Conclusions

Based on Good's formula the total number of reverse dies in the Reform issue can be calculated at 919. With an average production of 10,000 coins per die the total mintage would be 9.2 million coins. However, it is clear that the number of surviving coins from southern mints in particular is too low to provide estimates for the number of dies. Based on figures for northern mints a total number of 1,500-2,000 dies, indicating a total production of 15-20 million coins, would seem to be a better estimate. This figure also agrees better with the estimated figure for the pre-reform coinage of Edgar since the recoinage connected with the reform was very effective, judging from the hoards.

Speculative estimates of the number of reverse dies used at the five major mints would be:

	RSC	NSC	FSC	Total
Winchester	160	75	15	250
York	65	65	70	200
London	90	75	15	180
Stamford	40	55	30	125
Lincoln	20	35	20	75

The five mints combined would then account for about half of the entire production.

4.8. Mints and moneyers

4.8.1. General

A large number of mint-signed coins are known from Athelstan (924-39). The coins are more anonymous during the following reigns until Edgar, when mint-signed coins again become more common. The coins of Athelstan are in consequence the obvious starting-point for a survey of coinage developments in England before the reform. The growing number of coins struck after the Reform issue that have survived also makes it attractive to include the Hand issue, so as to show the development that took place after the Reform issue. Hence the tables below aim to list the moneyers at the individual mints during the period from Athelstan up to the Hand issue. The lack of references for the period from Edmund to Edwig is real for mints in the south, while there are numerous coins known from the north, but as virtually all of them lack mint-signatures the known moneyers can only exceptionally be associated with individual mints. The regnal dates for the pre-reform period are: Athelstan (924-39), Edmund (939-46), Edred (946-55), Edwig (955-9), and Edgar (957/9-75).

References to the Anglo-Saxon name of the mints are confined to the period c. 800-1066. The survey of mint-signatures is limited to the post-reform period unless otherwise indicated.

The moneyers have been arranged in four alphabetical groups. The first group covers moneyers who are known only in the pre-reform period. The second group covers moneyers who were active in both the pre-reform period as well as during the Reform issue and/or the Hand issue. The third group consists of moneyers who are known solely from the Reform issue onwards. The final group cover moneyers that were active from the Hand issue onwards. Numerous breaks in the careers of individual moneyers are apparent from the tables, and they indicate the uneven survival rate which the material has been subject to. However, to some extent this is no doubt also due to the fact that different moneyers happened to have a common name. For the pre-reform period an 'x' indicates that mint-signed coin(s) are known and '(x)' that the moneyer is known for the reign, but as the mint is not rendered it could conceivably be of another mint. In the latter case the moneyer must be represented in successive reigns in order to be included, and the type must be compatible with the area. In the absence of mint-signatures, the individual attributions will be speculative. The lists are provisional for the pre-reform period and hence individual references are not given [References are based on Blunt 1974 and the forthcoming CTCE.]. Comparisons between moneyers with the same name but working at different mints are limited to those active in the Reform issue.

The letter 'Wynn' is rendered as 'W'.

The dies and die-combinations are recorded for each moneyer as well as the number of coins known from each pair of dies. In order to show the number of dies used at each mint as accurately as possible, a die which is shared between two moneyers is given as 0.5 die, while a die shared between three moneyers is given as 0.3 die. Obverse dies have capital letters and reverse dies small letters. A line separates the different reigns.

4.8.2. Background

It is not possible to give an exact figure for the number of mints known to have operated in the post-reform period up to the Norman invasion (c. 973-1066). A number of mint-signatures still have to be identified with known boroughs and some may in the future even prove to denote already known mints. The number of positively identified mints is eighty-two, forty-seven of which are recorded in the Reform issue (fig. 4.40). As a comparison there were more than a hundred places at the end of the Anglo-Saxon period with some claim to be regarded as towns [Biddle 1976B, 141]. This shows that few towns could do without a mint and that coins are tied to urban activities.

Based on Domesday Book (1086) the total population of England has been estimated at 1.75 – 2.25 million people [Stafford 1985, 19; other estimates are in the region of 1 – 1.5 million, see Barlow 1979B, 171]. Taking account of casualties connected with the Viking attacks and the Norman invasion, the growth in population was probably not significant in the hundred year period before Domesday Book. Most people lived in rural areas, but at the time of Domesday Book one-tenth of the population in England lived in towns [Hill 1978, 214] which for the time of the reform would be equal to approximately 150,000 people. A mint is one of the features that each have been accepted as a criterion that constitutes a town [Biddle 1976B, 100].

The activity of the individual moneyers could be dependent on how they were organized. In theory moneyers could operate in three different ways:

1) at a mint farmed directly under the king, where the moneyers worked as employees
2) at a mint farmed by the borough, where the moneyers worked as employees
3) farming the mint or part of the mint independently.

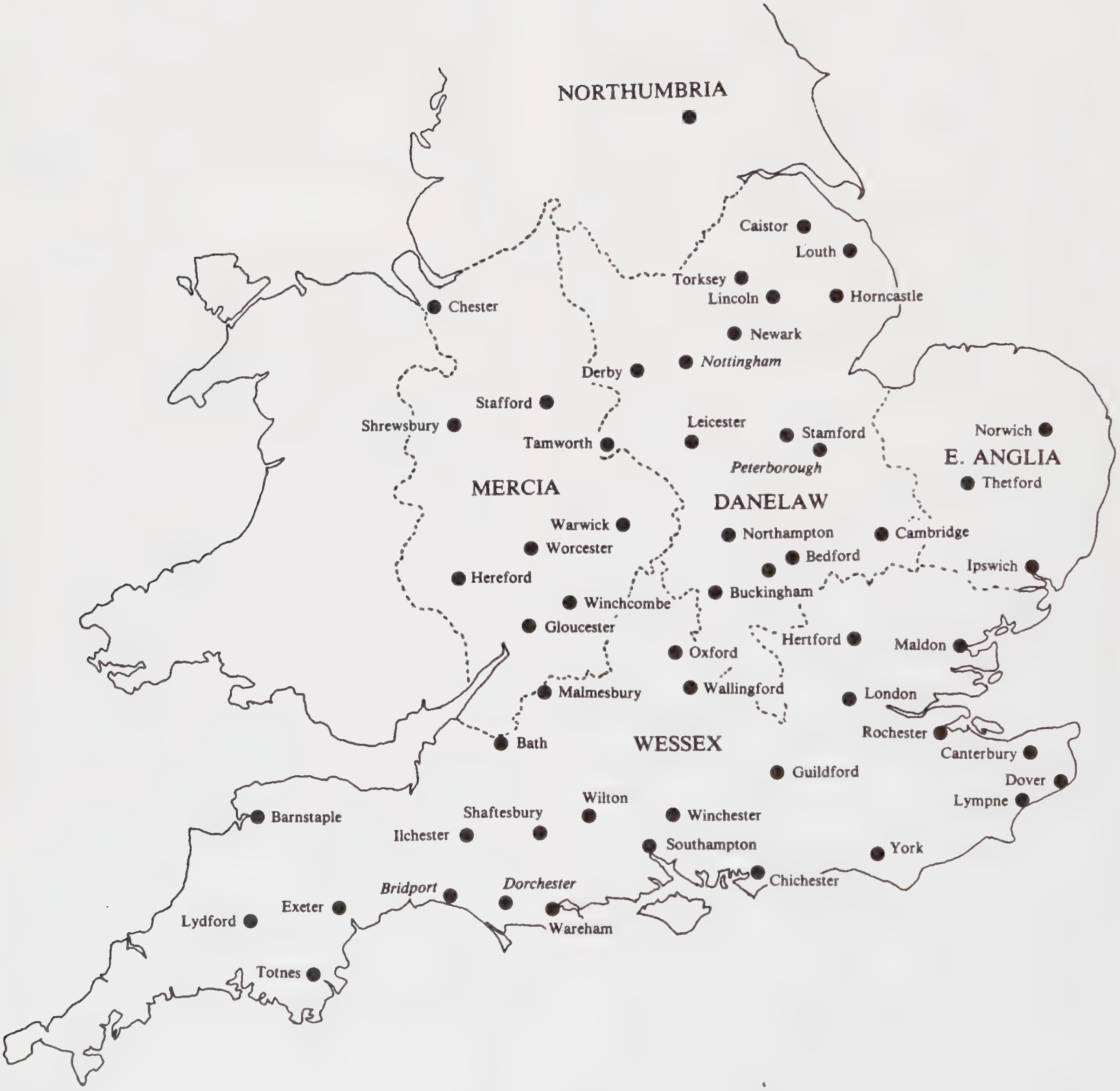

NORTHUMBRIA
Caistor
Louth
Torksey
Lincoln
Horncastle
Chester
Newark
Derby
Nottingham
Stafford
Shrewsbury
Tamworth
Leicester
Stamford
Peterborough
Norwich
E. ANGLIA
Thetford
MERCIA
DANELAW
Warwick
Worcester
Northampton
Cambridge
Bedford
Ipswich
Hereford
Winchcombe
Buckingham
Gloucester
Hertford
Maldon
Oxford
Malmesbury
Wallingford
London
Bath
WESSEX
Rochester
Canterbury
Guildford
Dover
Lympne
Barnstaple
Shaftesbury
Wilton
Winchester
Ilchester
Southampton
York
Bridport
Dorchester
Chichester
Exeter
Lydford
Wareham
Totnes

Fig. 4.40. The mints during the Reform issue (possible mints are rendered in italics).

It is also possible that a combination could be used at some mints. Being a moneyer could have been a full-time occupation only at the very largest mints [Cf. Brahme 1986, 173 where, however, no allowance is made for putting the coins on the market or obtaining silver etc.], and difference in activity could for instance result from seasonal employment versus more regular employment. The activity of the moneyers is not easy to analyze in detail during the Reform issue since the number of surviving coins is proportionately very low. Freeman, in his study of the mints and moneyers during Edward the Confessor (1042-66), has divided moneyers into two groups, established moneyers and single-type moneyers. The former group is defined as moneyers who struck consecutive types and who only work at one mint [Freeman 1985, 40]. The latter group consists of moneyers characterized by short activity and low output, as well as different irregularities [Freeman 1985, 43]. The single-type moneyers provided flexibility without demanding permanency of tenure which could be undesirable for the mints. Their occurrence is, however, not always easy to explain [Freeman 1985, 44].

At Winchester written sources for the period from Edward the Confessor to 1180 make it clear that the moneyers had separate workshops. They were, however, located fairly close to one another in the centre of the town [Biddle 1976A, 397, 422, and fig. 22]. The mint was no doubt organized in the same manner during the Reform issue, since not a single die-link between moneyers has been found, the presence or absence of die-links between moneyers being an indication of how the moneyers worked. However, during the Reform issue there are few mints where the number of surviving coins is large enough to attempt an investigation. The mints where die-links occur are: Chester, Ipswich, Leicester, Lympne, Stamford (although few in comparison to the number of surviving coins), Thetford, and York. The only mint in the south is Lympne (where other irregularities are also found), while York is exceptional both as regards the number of active moneyers and the number of die-links between moneyers. Based on the surviving coins an organization with separate workshops appear (besides Winchester) to have existed at Lincoln and London and no doubt at other, minor, mints where more material is needed to confirm the results of the present investigation. Some die-links between moneyers are probably connected with the relief of one moneyer by another.

Barnstaple

General

Barnstaple had access to the sea along the estuary of the river Taw, but at the same time had a protected location at the mouth of the river. It was one of four active mints in Devonshire in Anglo-Saxon times, of which Exeter always was the leader. Barnstaple usually ranked third and is first recorded from mint-signed coins during Edwig.

The name was *Beardastopol* or *Bardanstopol* in the Saxon period and *Barnestaple* in Domesday Book [Ekwall 1980, 27]. The mint-signature is BARDAN or BEARDA (and abbreviations) during the late Anglo-Saxon period [Hd; Smart 1981, 87], and it is first recorded in Edwig's Circumscription Cross type, where the mint-signature is BEARDA [Dolley 1962E, 197]. During the Reform issue the single record is BEA.

A survey of the Barnstaple mint has been published [Stewart 1975].

Moneyers

Barnstaple gives the impression of a mint with only one moneyer until the Hand issue when the quota was raised to three. Judging from the number of surviving coins of the Hand issue, it was by then an important mint, and the Scandinavian hoards would seem to cover the activity of the mint issue very well for that period. The sole surviving coin of the Reform issue indicates that the coinage was small before the Hand issue, or that the Scandinavian hoards for some reason do not cover the area as well in that period. Judging from the number of surviving coins of Exeter in the Reform issue, the former alternative seems preferable. This pattern is also found at two other Devonshire mints, Exeter and Totnes. In view of this it comes as no surprise that the fourth mint in the county in Anglo-Saxon times, Launceston, is recorded only in the First Hand type.

					Edg		EdM	ÆII			
	Ats	Edm	Edr	Edw	III	RSC	NSC	FSC	FH	SH	BH
Beorhtsige	–	–	–	x	–	–	–	–	12	12	–
Beorhtwulf	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	3	–	–
Ælfhelm	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	5	1	–
Ælfsige	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	7	–
Total	–	–	–	x	–	1	–	–	20	20	–

Because of the span of time the moneyer Beorhtsige known in Edwig cannot have been identical with the moneyer with the same name who is known from First Hand up to Cnut Quatrefoil, but in view of the name they could have been relatives. A moneyer Beorhtwulf is also known in the pre-reform period, but as he is not recorded for the Circumscription Cross type during Edgar it is more likely that he is to be associated with Bath.

All four moneyers known up to the Hand issue have OE names.

Dies

The known pair of dies was supplied from Winchester.

	Edgar		Edward		Æthelred II	
	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.
Beorhtwulf	1	1	–	–	–	–

Die-links

No die-links have been recorded with other mints.

Beorhtwulf	A 1 a	–	–

Bath

General

Somerset had the largest number of mints, eleven, of all Anglo-Saxon counties [See Hill 1978, 219-22]. However, only two of them, Bath and Ilchester, struck coins on a large scale and during a long period. Ilchester was the leading mint in the early part of Æthelred II but was then surpassed by Bath. Originally a Roman camp, where the baths provided a prosperous basis and gave the name to the settlement, it became a monastic centre in the late Anglo-Saxon period and had an advantageous location on the Foss Way running from the south-west to the north-east. Bath is first recorded from mint-signed coins during Alfred (871-99).

The name was *æt Bathum* in the later Anglo-Saxon period and *Bade* in Domesday Book [Ekwall 1980, 30]. Mint-signature is BAĐAN (and abbreviations) in the late Anglo-Saxon period [Smart 1981, 87]. The first recorded mint-signature is found during Edward the Elder (899-924), when it is BAĐ. The sole instance in the Reform issue is BAĐA.

A basic catalogue of the known coins from the Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman periods has been published [Grinsell 1973].

Moneyers

Two moneyers are mentioned at Bath in the Circumscription Cross type during Athelstan, one of which is also known up to Edgar Crowned Bust.

A moneyer Beorhtwulf is also known from Barnstaple in the Reform issue, but he is not likely to be the same individual, based on his term of office and the type he struck during Edwig. A moneyer with the name Beorhtferth is otherwise only known at Maldon during RSC and thus not likely to be the same person. Of the six moneyers in Edgar pre-reform, three are known after the reform, but from the Reform issue only a single coin is known. This should, however, not be interpreted as a result of low mintage, as Bath is poorly representated in the Scandinavian hoards during Hand (and this is probably true for the entire late Anglo-Saxon coinage), where only 2 out of 18 recorded coins have a Scandinavian provenance [Jonsson 1987, 63, 86]. Dolley has associated the coronation at Bath in 973 with the large number of moneyers striking the Circumscription Cross type [Dolley 1973, 159, but cf. comment by Lyon in Stafford 1978B, note 43].

All the moneyers have OE names with the exception of Herewis (CG).

					Edg				EdM	ÆII			
	Ats	Edm	Edr	Edw	Ib	V	III	RSC	NSC	FSC	FH	SH	BH
Beorthwulf	x	(x)	(x)	x	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Herewis	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Wulfbeald	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–
Æthelferth	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–
Æthelric	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	1	9	1
Æthelsige	–	–	–	(x)	–	–	2	–	–	–	5	–	–
Beorthferth	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	1	–	–	–	–
Wynstan	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	–
Total	x	(x)	(x)	x	1	1	6	–	1	–	7	10	1

Dies

The known pair of dies were supplied from Winchester.

	Edgar		Edward		Æthelred II	
	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.
Beorhtferth	–	–	1	1	–	–

Die-links

No die-links are recorded with other mints.

Beorhtferth	–	A 1 a	–	

Bedford

General

Bedfordshire was a single mint county. After regaining Bedford from the Vikings in 915, Edward the Elder secured the bridge by building a second fortification on the south side of the river [Stafford 1985, 114]. Judging from the names of the moneyers a mint began to operate at Bedford not later than Edmund, while mint-signed coins are not recorded until Edwig's reign.

The name was *Bedanford* or *Bydanford* in the Saxon Period and *Bedeford* in Domesday Book [Ekwall 1980, 34]. The mint-signature during the late Anglo-Saxon period is BEDAFOR (and abbreviations) up to c. 997-1003 and BEDEFOR (and abbreviations) from c. 1009-17 [Smart 1981, 87]. The mint-signature is BEDA on the coin of Edwig. In the Reform issue the mint-signature was BEDA (7 dies), BEDAFOR (2 dies), and BEDANFO (1 die).

Moneyers

Bedford must have been an important mint throughout the second half of the tenth century, judging from the number of recorded moneyers and the number of surviving coins. The minute figure during Edgar Circumscription Cross is connected with the lack of hoards dating from the period when it was struck.

The Edgar Two-line, Ælfsige, could alternatively have been struck at Newport Pagnall. Bedford is a mint that is poorly represented in the Scandinavian hoards. Out of 10 Hand coins only 2 have a Scandinavian provenance.

A moneyer Grimr is also recorded during the Reform issue at Derby, Lincoln, and Stamford, but at least two individuals must be involved. A moneyer Ælfstan is also active at Chester and two mints in the south (Canterbury and Exeter) during the Reform issue, and any connections are doubtful.

Only three of the moneyers have names that are not OE: Baldwin (CG), Frodger (CG), and Grimr (ON). This shows that contacts with the south were dominant in this respect, and all the moneyers with non-OE names are confined to the pre-reform period.

					Edg				EdM	ÆII			
	Ats	Edm	Edr	Edw	I	V	III	RSC	NSC	FSC	FH	SH	BH
Ælfsige	–	–	(x)	x	(1)	3	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Baldwin	–	(x)	(x)	x	–	6	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Boga	–	–	–	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Frodger	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Herewig	–	(x)	(x)	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Leofstan	–	–	–	x	–	6	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Grimr	–	–	(x)	x	3	2	1	2	1	–	–	–	–
Ælfstan	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	6	3	3	1	–
Bealdic	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	5	12	4	–	–	–
Bealdwulf	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–
Beornwine	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	3	–	–
Oswig	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	–	–
Totals	–	(x)	(x)	x	3+	18	1	8	20	9	9	1	–

Dies

The dies were supplied from Winchester during RSC, while they came from London or were locally cut during NSC, and obtained exclusively from London during FSC.

	Edgar		Edward		Æthelred II	
	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.
Ælfstan	1	1	3	1.5	1	0.5
Bealdic	4	1	3	3.5	1	1.5
Bealdwulf	–	–	–	–	1	1
Beornwine	–	–	1	1	1	1
Grimr	1	1	1	1	–	–
Total	6	3	8	7	4	4

Die-links

No die-links have been recorded between moneyers or with other mints.

Ælfstan	A 1 a	B C D 1 3 1 b c – c –	E 3 c
Bealdic	A B C D 1 1 1 1 a – a – a – a	E - E F G 6 1 3 2 b c d e –	H - H 1 2 e f
Bealdwulf	–	–	A 1 a
Beornwine	–	A 1 a	B 1 b
Grimr	A 2 a	B 1 b	–

Bridport (or [Little/Long] Bredy)

General

Bridport in Dorset is recorded in the First and Second Hand type. A coin with the mint-signature ‘BRIDIAN’ is found during Athelstan, and Blunt attributes it to Bridport or Bredy [Blunt 1974, 74-5], which are only eight miles apart. No coins are known from the Reform issue that can be associated with a mint at Bridport (or Bredy), but it is possible that the mint was active then, since it was active afterwards and probably before as well.

The name of Bridport was *Brideport* in Domesday Book [Ekwall 1980, 64]. The mint-signature in the late Anglo-Saxon period was BRYDA or BRYDI [Smart 1981, 88].

The name of Little Bredy and Long Bredy was Brydian in Saxon times, and Langebridia and Litelbride, respectively, in Domesday Book [Ekwall 1980, 62]. Ekwall connects coins with mint-signature BRYDIGA (Æthelred II First Hand) with Bredy while the numismatists favour Bridport.

Moneyers

Only one moneyer operated at the mint, but the output seems none the less not to have been insignificant. The Hand coins are almost exclusively known from Scandinavian hoards.

					Edg			EdM	ÆII			
	Ats	Edm	Edr	Edw	Ib	III	RSC	NSC	FSC	FH	SH	BH
Wihtwulf	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Eadnoth	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	5	–	–
Wine	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	–
Total	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	5	9	–

The three moneyers all have OE names.

Buckingham

General

Three mints operated in Buckinghamshire in Anglo-Saxon times. Aylesbury was a minute mint with a sporadic activity and first recorded in Æthelred II Crux, and Newport Pagnall commenced coinage during the reign of Edmund or Edwig, while Buckingham was the leading mint, although its coinage was small. In 914 Edward the Elder built a borough on both sides of the river at Buckingham [Stafford 1985, 113]. It is first recorded as a mint during Edward the Martyr, and it is not until Cnut's Quatrefoil type that the mint becomes more permanent, although still with a very limited output, as it is only known from Crux and Long Cross in the interim period.

The name was *Buccingahamm* or *Buccingaham* in the Saxon period and *Bochingheham* in Domesday Book [Ekwall 1980, 72]. The mint-signature is BVCCINGA (and abbreviations) during the late Anglo-Saxon period [Smart 1981, 88]. The only die in the Reform issue use BVCM as mint-signature.

Moneyers

Even though two moneyers are known in a few types during the late Anglo-Saxon period this was probably only because the succession came in the middle of a type, and Buckingham was probably always a one-moneyer mint.

Dies

The two known coins are struck from the same rusty reverse die, which in itself is a testimony to the low activity of the mint, and the conditions that prevailed there. Both coins have a Scandinavian provenance. The dies were of local fabrication.

	Edgar		Edward		Æthelred II	
	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.
Tunwulf	–	–	2	1	–	–

Die-links

No die-links have been recorded with other mints.

Tunwulf		A	B	
	–	1	1	–
		a – a		

					Edg				EdM	ÆII			
	Ats	Edm	Edr	Edw	I	V	III	RSC	NSC	FSC	FH	SH	BH
Tunwulf	–	–	–	–	–	1	2	–	2	–	–	–	–

The name of the moneyer Tunwulf is OE.

Caistor

General

Caistor belongs to the group of five small Lincolnshire mints that started to operate in the period 975 to c. 979. With First Hand, however, Caistor closed down until it opened again during Cnut (see below).

The name is *Castre* in Domesday Book [Ekwall 1980, 81]. The mint-signature is CASTR during the late Anglo-Saxon period [Smart 1981, 89]. The mint-signatures CESÐ during Cnut Quatrefoil and CESTR during Cnut Pointed Helmet, have been connected with Caistor, and die-links with Lincoln now seem to confirm this attribution [Information from W. Lean]. In the Reform issue the mint-signature is CAS (2 blundered dies), CAST (1 die), and CASTR (1 die).

The mint was first identified in 1955 [Dolley 1955A, 88-92] on coins of the Reform issue from Edward and Æthelred II. In 1979 it was also possible to identify a coin in Æthelred II First Hand [Stewart 1979].

Moneyer

Of the four known specimens struck at Caistor only one has a Scandinavian provenance.

					Edg			EdM	ÆII			
	Ats	Edm	Edr	Edw	I	III	RSC	NSC	FSC	FH	SH	BH
Leofman	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	3	1	–	–

The single moneyer known from the mint is not recorded at any of the neighbouring mints.

The name of the moneyer Leofman is OE.

Dies

All the dies were supplied from Lincoln.

	Edgar		Edward		Æthelred II	
	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.
Leofman	–	–	1	1	3	3

The proportion of the dies would suggest that the activity at the mint started late in the reign of Edward. Surprisingly enough there are no die-duplicates, and the conclusion must be that the size of operation was larger than could be expected.

Die-links

There are no recorded die-links with other mints.

Leofman		A	B	C	D
	–	1	1	1	1
		a	b	c	d

Cambridge

General

Cambridge is the only mint in the county, and was regained from the Vikings in 917. A fragmentary coin of Edgar's Crowned Bust type with the legend Albe[?] is probably struck by the moneyer Albert [CTCE no. 363], who is also recorded for the same type during Edred. He may then well be the same moneyer who is known at Cambridge in the Reform issue. Otherwise the mint seems not to have opened until the reform.

The name was *Grantebrycg* or *Grantacester* in the late Saxon period and *Grentebrige* in Domesday Book [Ekwall 1980, 84]. The mint-signature was GRANTEBR (and abbreviations) in the late Anglo-Saxon period [Hd; Smart 1981, 89]. In the Reform issue the mint-signature was GRAN (1 die) and GRANT (1 die).

Moneyers

The coinage at Cambridge was small until Æthelred II Crux, when it temporarily becomes important.

A large number of moneyers with the name Leofing are known in the Reform issue. The Leofing at Cambridge could be identical with Leofing at Ipswich and Norwich.

The names of the moneyers are OE with the exception of Albert (CG), who may have started his career before the reform.

Dies

The dies were supplied from Winchester during RSC, and the pair of dies from NSC were probably also obtained from Winchester although there are some irregular features.

	Edgar		Edward		Æthelred II	
	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.
Albert	1	1	–	–	–	–
Hunstan	–	–	1	1	–	–
Leofing	1	1	–	–	–	–
Total	2	2	1	1	0	0

					Edg				EdM	ÆII			
	Ats	Edm	Edr	Edw	I	V	III	RSC	NSC	FSC	FH	SH	BH
Albert	–	–	–	–	–	1?	–	1	–	–	–	–	–
Hunstan	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	5	–	–
Leofing	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–
Wilmund	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	–
Total	–	–	–	–	–	1?	–	1	2	–	7	–	–

Die-links

There are no die-links between moneyers or with other mints.

Albert	A 1 a	–	–
Hunstan	–	A 1 a	–
Leofing	A 1 a	–	–

Canterbury

General

Canterbury was the leading mint in Kent as well as in all of England in early Anglo-Saxon times. It was also the seat of the archbishop. The strong position of the Church is also reflected in the Grateley charters c. 926-30, where the archbishop was allowed two moneyers and the abbot one moneyer, compared to four for the king. Only London was allowed a higher quota of moneyers (eight). In the Domesday Book survey (1086) the monastery was the third richest in England, based on income [Hill 1984, 154]. It is uncertain whether these priviliges were still enforced during the Reform issue. There is nothing on any of the coins that indicates an ecclesiastical coinage.

The name was *Cantwaraburg* or *Contwaraburg* in Saxon times [Ekwall 1980, 85]. The mint-signature is CÆNTWARE or CÆNTWARA (and abbreviations) during the late Anglo-Saxon period until Cnut Short Cross when there was a change to CENTW [Hd; Smart 1981, 89]. In the Reform issue the mint-signature in use was CÆNT (10 dies), CÆTWARA (1 die), CANT (1 die), and CANTWAR (1 die).

Moneyers

There are seven moneyers recorded during Athelstan, as was the stipulated quota, but the absence of mint-signed coins and the lack of hoards account for the poor representation during the remaining pre-reform period. The output of each moneyer is remarkably stable during the Hand issue, while there is less continuity in the Reform issue.

A number of moneyers at Canterbury are also known at other mints during the Reform issue. Those which could denote the same individuals only concern Æthelstan and Wine at Lympne.

The names of all recorded moneyers are OE.

					Edg			EdM	ÆII			
	Ats	Edm	Edr	Edw	III	VIII	RSC	NSC	FSC	FH	SH	BH
Ælfric	x	(x)	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Æthelferth	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Æthelsige	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Eadgild	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Manna	x	(x)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Theodwulf	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Torhthelm	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Boga	–	–	–	–	1	–	8	2	1	31	12	–
Ælfstan	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	–	–	–	–
Æthelstan	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	–	–	–	–	–
Garwig	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–
Wine	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	1	–	1	–	–
Duda	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	2	2
Eadweald	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	13	12	6
Leofing	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	12	7	–
Leofric	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	12	14	6
Leofstan	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	6	10	13
Wulfwig	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	2
Total	x	(x)	x	–	1	–	15	6	1	76	60	29

Dies

The dies were obtained from Winchester during RSC and also during NSC (one die-pair) when, however, London was the main source (three die-pairs). During FSC the dies were of the local Canterbury style.

	Edgar		Edward		Æthelred II	
	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.
Ælfstan	–	–	2	2	–	–
Æthelstan	3	3	–	–	–	–
Boga	3	3	1	1	1	1
Garwig	1	1	–	–	–	–
Wine	2	1	1	1	–	–
Total	9	8	4	4	1	1

Die-links

Although five die-identical specimens are recorded for Boga, most other die-combinations are known from a single coin. There is also only a single die-chain consisting of two coins of Wine. Hence, no die-links are recorded between moneyers or with other mints.

Ælfstan	–	A 2 a	B 1 b	–	
Æthelstan	A 1 a	B 1 b	C 1 c	–	–
Boga	A 5 a	B 2 b	C 1 c	D 1 d	E 1 e
Garwig	A 1 a	–	–		
Wine	A 1 a –	B 1 a	C 1 b	–	

Chester

General

Chester emerges as a mint during the reign of Edward the Elder [CTCE] and quite soon achieves a very prominent position among the leading mints. It has been suggested [Blunt 1974, 98] that it owed this position to silver mines in northern Wales. At a meeting between 927 and 931 a number of Welsh princes also agreed to a yearly tribute which is said to have included 300 pounds of silver [Stenton 1975, 340]. Chester remained the only mint in the county throughout the late Anglo-Saxon period.

The name was *Legaceaster* in late Saxon time and *Cestre* in Domesday Book [Ekwall 1980, 101]. The mint-signature shows great variation during the late Anglo-Saxon period when forms like LEGCEST, LEGECES, LEGICES, and LEIGCE (and abbreviations) occur [Hd; Smart 1981, 90]. The mint-signature during the Reform issue was LE (1 die), LEG (4 dies), LEGCES (4 dies), LEGE (2 dies), LEGEC (1 die), LEGI (1 die), and LEIC (1 die).

Moneyers

Chester probably maintained a very high production throughout the pre-reform period, although the scarcity of mint-signed coins often makes attributions somewhat uncertain, and in Edgar's pre-reform coinage it clearly is a very major mint. The ravaging of Cheshire in 980 has been taken as the turning point in the development of Chester [Dolley & Pirie 1964], but it is quite clear that Chester did not play as important a part in the recoinage connected with the reform as could be expected, an indication that the change in the fortunes of Chester began before 980. Coins from Chester are very well represented in hoards during the pre-reform period and this is clearly reflected in the survey. There is also a remarkable continuity among the (far fewer) moneyers in the post-reform period.

Edgar Id also includes Ic. The following numbers for mules are not included above: Freothuric (III/IV) – 7, Iorothr (IV/III) – 1.

The only possible connection with a moneyer of the same name in the Reform issue would seem to concern Boga at Stamford.

The names of the moneyers have diverse origins but OE, with thirty-two names, dominates followed by six ON names (Asleikr, Asulfr, Authketill?, Iorothr, Ulfr, and Thormothr), three OIr names (Ģillys, Mœldomen, and Mœlsudan), two CG (Flodger and Regenulf) and Latin (Martin and Paulus) respectively, one OF (Durand), and finally two obscure (Baro and Sœlc). It should be noted that all moneyers above whose career starts after the reform have OE names.

					Edg					EdM	ÆII			
	Ats	Edm	Edr	Edw	IV	III	Id	II	RSC	NSC	FSC	FH	SH	BH
Abba	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Ælfræd	–	–	–	–	–	–	10	1	–	–	–	–	–	–
Ælfsige	–	–	(x)	(x)	5	3	16	5	–	–	–	–	–	–
Ælfwine	x	(x)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Æthelhelm	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	6	–	–	–	–	–	–
Asleikr	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Asulfr	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Authketill?	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–
Baro	–	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Beornheard	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Boigalet	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Cnapa	x	(x)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Deorwulf	x	(x)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Durand	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	–	–	–	–	–	–
Eadmund	x	(x)	(x)	(x)	3	–	6	3	–	–	–	–	–	–
Eadwulf	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Ealdwine	–	–	–	–	1	–	13	3	–	–	–	–	–	–
Eoforheard	x	(x)	(x)	(x)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Flodger	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	5	–	–	–	–	–	–
Freothuric	–	–	(x)	(x)	4	2	23	4	–	–	–	–	–	–
Gillys	–	–	(x)	(x)	2	–	3	5	–	–	–	–	–	–
Iorothr	–	–	–	(x)	1	–	13	4	–	–	–	–	–	–
Leofstan	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	1	–	–	–	–	–	–
Mægenræd	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Mældomen	x	(x)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Manna	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	–
Martin	x	(x)	(x)	–	–	–	5	4	–	–	–	–	–	–
Paulus	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Regenulf	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Sælc (Saleco?)	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Sigeferth	x	(x)	(x)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Snell	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Teothic	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	6	–	–	–	–	–	–
Tidgar	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Tota	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Ulfr	–	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Wigheard	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Wulfgar	x	(x)	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–
Wulfstan	x	(x)	(x)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Ælfstan	–	–	–	–	3	–	–	5	1	1	3	9	2	1
Boga	x	(x)	–	–	–	–	–	3	1	4	–	–	–	–
Deorlaf	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	10	2	–	1	1	1	–
Mælsudan	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	6	5	1	1	–	–	–
Thormothr	–	–	(x)	(x)	10	4	17	12	3	–	–	–	–	–
Æthelmod	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	4	1	–
Eadric	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	6	1	–
Leofman	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	6	–	–
Wulflaf	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	2
Total	x	x	(x)	(x)	29	9	112	90	12	6	5	27	6	3

Dies

The dies were obtained from Winchester during RSC and NSC, with the exception of one pair of the latter type of local (Chester style) fabrication. The dies for FSC were supplied from London, with the exception of a reverse die of local origin.

	Edgar		Edward		Æthelred II	
	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.
Ælfstan	1	0.5	1	0.5	1.3	2
Boga	1	1	3	2	–	–
Deorlaf	1.5	2	–	–	0.3	1
Mælsudan	4	2	1	1	0.3	1
Thormothr	2.5	2	–	–	–	–
Total	10	7.5	5	3.5	2	4

Die-links

There are two die-links between moneyers. The first involves Deorlaf (A) and Thormothr (A), while the second concerns Ælfstan (C), Deorlaf (C), and Mœlsudan (E). It does not seem possible for a relief to be connected with any of the die-links, as they all worked simultaneously over a longer period. As the only die in use during First Small Cross was shared between three moneyers the coinage was obviously very low at the time.

There are no die-links with other mints.

Ælfstan	A		B		C	D		
	1		1		1	1		
	a	–	a		b	c		
Boga	A		B		C	D		
	1		1		1	1	–	
	a		b	–	b	c		
Deorlaf	A		B			C		
	1		1		–	1		
	a		b			c		
Mælsudan	A		B		C	D	E	F
	1		1		1	1	1	1
	a	–	a	–	a	b	c	d
Thormothr	A		B		C			
	1		1		1	–	–	
	a	–	a		b			

Chichester

General

Chichester ranked in the middle among the five Sussex mints. In the Grateley charter it was assigned one moneyer. In the pre-reform period mint-signed coins are only known from Athelstan. It was a small mint but operated continuously in the late Anglo-Saxon period.

The name was *Cisseceaster* in Saxon times and *Cicestre* in Domesday Book [Ekwall 1980, 103]. The mint-signature varied during Æthelred II with CISCES, CISEC, and CYSE (and abbreviations), while CICESTR (and abbreviations) is the rule from Cnut Pointed Helmet onwards [Hd; Smart 1981, 91]. In the Reform issue one die is known from each of CISE, CISECI, and CISSE, which indicates that the double S was dropped at this time.

Moneyer

Chichester was only allowed one moneyer in the Grateley codes, but two moneyers was evidently the quota in the late pre-reform and the early post-reform period.

					Edg					EdM	ÆII			
	Ats	Edm	Edr	Edw	Ib	V	III	XII	RSC	NSC	FSC	FH	SH	BH
Moneyer?	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–
Iohan	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Cynesige	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	1	–	–	–	–	–
Flodwin	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	1	–	–	–	–	–
Siduman	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–
Ælfwig	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1
Æthelhelm	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–
Eadnoth	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	1
Heahwulf	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	6	–	–
Wynstan	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	7	–
Total	x	–	–	–	–	–	3	1	3	–	–	7	10	2

A moneyer Siduman who was active at Rochester could be the same individual as at Chichester.

The names recorded at Chichester are OE, with the exception of Flodwin (CG) and Iohan (Latin).

Dies

All the dies were supplied from Winchester.

	Edgar		Edward		Æthelred II	
	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.
Cynesige	1	1	–	–	–	–
Flodwin	1	1	–	–	–	–
Siduman	1	1	–	–	–	–
Total	3	3	0	0	0	0

Die-links

No die-links are recorded between moneyers or with other mints.

Cynesige	A 1 a	–	–
Flodwin	A 1 a	–	–
Siduman	A 1 a	–	–

Derby

General

One of the five boroughs under the Vikings, Derby was recaptured by Æthelflœd in 917. It is not unlikely that the Vikings had a mint there before that, and its importance is shown by the large number of mint-signed coins during Athelstan. In 939-42 it was part of the area which was ceded to the Viking rulers of York, and coins were then struck there in the name of Anlaf Guthfrithsson. Derby was the only mint in the county and mint-signed coins are first recorded from Athelstan, but the mint probably commenced operation during Edward the Elder.

					Edg					EdM	ÆII			
	Ats	Edm	Edr	Edw	IV	III	Ic	II	RSC	NSC	FSC	FH	SH	BH
Beornheard	x	–	(x)	(x)	–	2	3	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Boga	x	(x)	(x)	(x)	3	1	2	1	–	–	–	–	–	–
Fold	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Fredic	–	–	–	(x)	1	1	4	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Garheard	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Giencea	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Ioli	–	–	–	–	3	–	4	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Leofhelm	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Mægenræd	x	(x)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Manna	–	–	–	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Martin	x	(x)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Othilric	–	(x)	(x)	–	2	–	3	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Sigegar	x	(x)	(x)	–	–	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Sigeweald	x	(x)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Asulfr	–	–	–	–	2	–	1	–	3	2	7	11	–	–
Grimr	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	1	–	–	–	–
Gunnarr	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	–	–	5	7	–	–
Leofwine	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	–
Wulfstan	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	8	–	–
Total	x	(x)	(x)	(x)	13	4	21	2	3	3	12	28	–	–

The name was *Deoraby* in Saxon times and *Derby* in Domesday Book [Ekwall 1980, 142]. The mint-signature was DEORABY, until a shift to DEORBY late in Æthelred II or during Cnut [Hd; Smart 1981, 92]. In the Reform issue the mint-signature was DEORABY (4 dies), DEORBY (6 dies), and DERB[Y?] (1 die).

Moneyers

A large number of moneyers are recorded until the middle of Edgar's reign, when the activity is severely reduced. The development at Derby thus follows the same pattern as that of Chester. In consequence only two moneyers are recorded in the Reform issue and the total may not have been much higher, since the area is fairly well covered in both the English and the Scandinavian hoards.

Edgar Ic also includes Id. Two of the moneyers could have been active at other mints as well since corresponding names are found at other mints: Asulfr at York; Grimr at Bedford, Lincoln, and Stamford.

The OE names of the moneyers are in a minority, with only nine, while there are four ON (Asulfr, Grimr, Gunnarr, and Ioli), two CG (Fredic and Othilric), one Latin (Martin), and two obscure (Fold and Giencea).

Dies

The dies for RSC were obtained from Winchester, for NSC from Winchester and Stamford, while the FSC dies are of local (Derby style) origin but also supplied from Lincoln and of various local origin.

	Edgar		Edward		Æthelred II	
	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.
Asulfr	1	2	1	1	2	3
Grimr	–	–	1	1	–	–
Gunnarr	–	–	–	–	3	4
Total	1	2	2	2	5	7

Die-links

Although die-linked coins are not uncommon, there are no die-links between moneyers or with other mints.

Asulfr	A – 2 a	A 1 b	B 2 c	C – 4 d	C 1 e	D 1 f
Grimr	–	A 1 a	–			
Gunnarr	–	–	A – 1 a	A 1 b	B 1 c	C 1 d

Dorchester

General

According to the Grateley codes one moneyer was allocated to Dorchester, which was one of the minor mints in Dorset. However, Blunt was unable to find any coins of Athelstan that could be attributed to Dorchester [Blunt 1974, 64, 74], and the first evidence of a mint at Dorchester is coins of the First Hand type. As a one-moneyer mint which is likely to have had a minute mintage, it is not unlikely that it was active in the Reform issue although no coins are known today.

The name was *Dornuuarana ceaster* or *Dornwaraceaster* in Saxon times and *Dorcestre* in Domesday Book [Ekwall 1980, 148]. The mint-signature was DORCEST (and abbreviations) in the late Anglo-Saxon period [Smart 1981, 93].

Moneyer

Besides the two First Hand coins listed here there also exists a fragment where the name of the moneyer is missing. All surviving coins for the type come from Scandinavian hoards.

					Edg			EdM	ÆII			
	Ats	Edm	Edr	Edw	Ib	III	RSC	NSC	FSC	FH	SH	BH
Ælfræd	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	–

The name of the moneyer is OE.

Dover

General

Dover ranked third among the Kentish mints, and it is first recorded from mint-signed coins during Athelstan.

The name was *Dobrum* or *Doferum* in Saxon times [Ekwall 1980, 149]. The mint-signature was DOFERAN, DOFRAN, or DOVER (and abbreviations) in the late Anglo-Saxon period [Hd; Smart 1981, 93]. The single reverse die in the Reform issue has the mint-signature DOF.

Moneyers

Dover could well have been a one-moneyer mint in the early post-reform period, and the activity appears sporadic. Leofgar, though, is known both from RSC and First Hand.

The origin of the name listed as ON Asfrith may well be OE Osferth, since ON names are rare at southern mints. Folcred is CG but the other names at Dover are OE.

Dies

The single die-pair was supplied from Winchester.

	Edgar		Edward		Æthelred II	
	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.
Leofgar	1	1	–	–	–	–

Die-links

There are no recorded die-links with other mints.

Leofgar	A 1 a	–	–

					Edg			EdM	ÆII			
	Ats	Edm	Edr	Edw	III	VIII	RSC	NSC	FSC	FH	SH	BH
Folcred	x	(x)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Leofgar	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	1	–	–
Asfrith	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	4	8	–
Wulfric	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–
Total	x	(x)	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	5	9	–

Exeter

General

Exeter was the leading mint in Devonshire and one of the leading in the realm. In the Grateley charters c. 928 it was entitled to two moneyers. It is first recorded from mint-signed coins during Alfred (871-99) [See Stewart 1970 for a survey of the Exeter mint]. It had a favourable location at the mouth of the river Exe and along the Foss Way.

The name was *Escanceaster* or *Exanceaster* in Saxon times and *Execestre* in Domesday Book [Ekwall 1980, 171]. The mint-signature was initially EAXCESTRE and EAXECESTRE (and abbreviations) during the late Anglo-Saxon period and ECXCESTRE or EXCEST (and abbreviations) from Cnut Pointed Helmet onwards [Hd; Smart 1981, 94]. During the Reform issue the mint-signature was EAXE (3 dies), EAXNC (1 die), EXAN (4 dies), EXANC (2 dies), and EXE (1 die).

Moneyers

The production at the mint evidently increased rapidly, beginning with FSC. During the Hand issue Exeter became one of the most important mints in England, and the number of moneyers multiplied. The Scandinavian hoards cover the mint very well in the early post-reform period.

The first part of the name Ead Ælfstan may represent the first letters of the name of the king – i.e. as if an obverse die was first intended [Stewart 1970, 7], or it could denote a double name [Blunt & Feilitzen 1971, 194, 210].

Moneyers with the same names are recorded at other mints during the Reform issue but are unlikely to denote the same individuals.

An OE origin dominates the names of the moneyers, but there are also two CG (Mangod and Regenold), one ON (Ketill) and Latin (Iohan) each, and one obscure (Abun).

					Edg		EdM	ÆII			
	Ats	Edm	Edr	Edw	III	RSC	NSC	FSC	FH	SH	BH
Abun	x	(x)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Æthelgar	–	–	–	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Ead Ælfstan	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–
Mangod	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–
Regenold	x	(x)	(x)	(x)	1	–	–	–	–	–	–
Ælfstan	–	–	–	–	–	4	–	1	13	4	–
Æthelnoth	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	1	–	–	–
Godwine	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	15	–	–
Iohan	–	–	–	–	–	1	4	–	–	–	–
Ælfnoth	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	6	24	–
Beorhtferth	–	–	–	–	(1)	–	–	–	5	–	–
Beorhtsige	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	4	22	–
Beorhtstan	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	–
Brun	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
God	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	13	–
Ketill	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	–
Leofric	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	7	–
Leofsunu	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	14	–
Luda	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	17	18	–
Manna	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	–
Tuna	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	15	–	–
Total	x	(x)	(x)	x	3+	7	4	3	88	109	–

Dies

Dies were supplied from Winchester throughout the period although London was the dominant supplier in FSC.

	Edgar		Edward		Æthelred II	
	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.
Ælfstan	3	4	–	–	1	1
Æthelnoth	1	1	–	–	1	1
Godwine	–	–	–	–	1	1
Iohan	1	1	1	2	–	–
Total	5	6	1	2	3	3

Die-links

No die-links have been recorded between different moneyers or with other mints.

Ælfstan	A	–	A	B	C		D
	1		1	1	1	–	1
	a		b	c	d		e

Æthelnoth	A		B
	2	–	1
	a		b

Godwine			A
	–	–	1
			a

Iohan	A	B	–	B	
	1	3		1	–
	a	b		c	

Gloucester

General

There were four mints in Gloucestershire in Anglo-Saxon times. Berkeley struck coins on a minute scale only during Edward the Confessor, while Winchcombe was a minor mint (albeit on a continuous basis), and Bristol only commenced during Cnut and had a fairly small output. Gloucester was mentioned on mint-signed coins for the first time during Alfred (871-99), and was the leading mint.

The name was *Gleawecestre* in Saxon times and *Glowecestre* in Domesday Book [Ekwall 1980, 199]. The mint-signature was GLEAWEC (and abbreviations) during Æthelred II and GLEWECE (and abbreviations) from Cnut onwards, but GLEOV (and abbreviations) is also found during Harthacnut [Gelling 1972; Hd]. The mint-signature was GLEAV (4 dies) and GLEV (1 die), but also the blundered WIEAV (1 die). The blundered die shows otherwise no signs of irregular features and the second letter of the mint-signature could be intended as the letter L, in which case only the preceding letter W remains unexplained. It is best regarded as an engraver's error, even though there is always the possibility that it denotes an otherwise unidentified mint.

Moneyers

Two moneyers seems to have been the quota during the period concerned. The Scandinavian hoards appear not to cover the mint too well.

A moneyer Æthelstan is also recorded at a number of southern mints but there is probably no connection between them.

All the moneyers have OE names.

					Edg				EdM	ÆII			
	Ats	Edm	Edr	Edw	IV	III	Ic	RSC	NSC	FSC	FH	SH	BH
Æthelmod	x	(x)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Æthelstan	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	–	–	–	–	–
Burhstan	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	–	–	–
Wynsige	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	–	–	–	–
Godman	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–
Leofsige	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	3	1
Wihtsige	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	–
Total	x	(x)	–	–	–	–	–	5	2	–	10	6	1

Dies

The dies were obtained from Winchester both during RSC and NSC. One of the dies in NSC has a slightly differing style which is also found on two dies at Chester but it is probably only a variation within the main style.

	Edgar		Edward		Æthelred II	
	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.
Æthelstan	3	2	–	–	–	–
Burhstan	–	–	2	2	–	–
Wynsige	1	2	–	–	–	–
Total	4	4	2	2	0	0

Die-links

There are no recorded die-links between moneyers or with other mints. Every die-combination is known from just a single coin, which implies that the production could have been much higher than the surviving coins indicate.

Æthelstan						
	A		B	C	–	–
	1		1	1		
	a	–	a	b		

Burhstan				
	–	A	B	–
		1	1	
		a	b	

Wynsige					
	A	–	A	–	–
	1		1		
	a		b		

Guildford

General

Guildford in Surrey is first known from mint-signed coins in NSC and throughout the late Anglo-Saxon period the coinage was minute and sporadic. Southwark was the larger of the two mints in the county but did not begin to strike coins until Æthelred II Crux, when the coinage was very large and its production was sizeable even in later types.

The name was *Gyldeford* in Saxon times and *Gildeford* or *Geldeford* in Domesday Book [Ekwall 1980, 207]. The mint-signature was GYLDA (and abbreviations) up to Harold I and GIL from Harthacnut onwards [Hd; Smart 1981, 95]. The sole die from the Reform issue has CVLEFR.

					Edg			EdM	ÆII			
	Ats	Edm	Edr	Edw	Ib	III	RSC	NSC	FSC	FH	SH	BH
Ælfweard	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–
Oda	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2
Total	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	2

Moneyers

The sporadic nature of the mint is apparent from the survey of the moneyers and the fact that coins of the Benediction Hand type are usually much less common than coins of First and Second Hand.

A moneyer Ælfweard is otherwise only known at London during the Reform issue and they may well be connected.

Both moneyers have OE names.

Dies

The obverse die was supplied from Winchester, but the reverse die could have been cut locally.

	Edgar		Edward		Æthelred II	
	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.
Ælfweard	–	–	1	1	–	–

Die-links

There is no die-link with any other mint.

Ælfweard	–	A 1 a	–

Hereford

General

Hereford, located on the Welsh marshes, was the seat of the bishopric and the only mint in the county. One of the moneyers known in the reign of Athelstan (Hunlaf) is also known from Edward the Elder (899-924) from coins without mint-signature, which makes it likely that the mint was operating at that time. In the post-reform period it struck coins on a continuous, low level.

The name was *Hereford* in Saxon times and the same in Domesday Book [Ekwall 1980, 236]. The mint-signature was HEREFORD (and abbreviations) in the late Anglo-Saxon period, but also HERFORD (and abbreviations) during Æthelred II [Smart 1981, 95]. The only die in the Reform issue used HEREFO.

Moneyers

Theere are many coins without mint-signature from Edwig and the pre-reform period of Edgar that could have been struck at Hereford. It is difficult to judge the size of the coinage in the post-reform period but it may well have been much larger than the surviving coins indicate.

					Edg				EdM	ÆII			
	Ats	Edm	Edr	Edw	IV	III	Ic	RSC	NSC	FSC	FH	SH	BH
Ecgbeorht	x	(x)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Hunlaf	x	(x)	(x)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Gillys	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–
Ælfstan	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	4	1	–
Godman	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	–	–
Leofgar	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	–
Total	x	(x)	(x)	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	8	2	–

Gillys was a prolific moneyer at Chester from Edred until just before the reform and it is conceivable that he then worked at Hereford.

A western influence is seen in the OIr name of Gillys, while all the other names are OE.

Dies

Winchester supplied the die-pair used in RSC.

	Edgar		Edward		Æthelred II	
	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.
Gillys	1	1	–	–	–	–

Die-links

No die-link has been recorded with any other mint.

Gillys	A 1 a	–	–

Hertford

General

Only one mint operated in the county in Anglo-Saxon times. Edward the Elder built a fortress there in 911, although Hertford is first recorded on mint-signed coins during Athelstan. In the post-reform period it had a large production during Æthelred II but was otherwise a small mint.

The name was *Heorotford* in Saxon times [Ekwall 1980, 236]. The mint-signature was HEORTFOR and HERTFORD (and abbreviations) in the late Anglo-Saxon period, but exceptionally also HYRT and IORT [Hd; Smart 1981, 96]. The mint-signature during the Reform issue was HERT (2 dies).

Moneyers

The coinage was evidently larger before the reform than in the early post-reform period when it appears to have been sporadic.

Dies

The die-pair during NSC was supplied from London.

	Edgar		Edward		Æthelred II	
	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.
Wulfmær	1	1	1	1	–	–

Die-links

No die-links with other mints have been recorded.

Wulfmær	A 1 a	B 2 b	–

					Edg				EdM	ÆII			
	Ats	Edm	Edr	Edw	V	Vc	III	RSC	NSC	FSC	FH	SH	BH
Abenel	x	(x)	–	x	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Beornferth	–	–	–	–	1	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Manna	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Wulfmær	–	–	–	–	1	1	–	1	2	–	1	–	–
Total	x	(x)	–	x	4	3	–	1	2	–	1	–	–

Beornferth is not known from mint-signed coins. Abenel is obscure or possibly of OE or CG origin, while the other names are OE.

Horncastle

General

Horncastle is one of five minor mints in Lincolnshire that are first recorded from mint-signed coins shortly after the reform. Like Caistor and Grantham it did not strike any coins beyond the First Hand type.

The name was *Hornecastre* in Domesday Book [Ekwall 1980, 250]. The mint-signature was HORN in Æthelred II First Hand [Dolley 1958B, 51-4]. In the Reform issue HOR (1 die) and HORNE (1 die) were used.

Moneyers

A Two-line coin of the moneyer ‘Ethelm’ is believed to have been part of the Ballaquale hoard but no such coin is known today [Pagan 1980, no. 23; the coin was acquired by Walters, but was not included in any of the Walter sales, which may not be conclusive]. If it exists he could be identical with the Horncastle moneyer, but it is also possible that he then worked at another mint.

The only other mint where a moneyer Æthelhelm is known in the Reform issue is the mysterious mint ‘LVVEIC’.

The name of the moneyer Æthelhelm is OE.

Dies

All the dies were obtained from Lincoln.

	Edgar		Edward		Æthelred II	
	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.
Æthelhelm	–	–	1	1	1	1

Die-links

There are no recorded die-links with other mints.

Æthelhelm		A	B
	–	1	2
		a	b

					Edg			EdM	ÆII			
	Ats	Edm	Edr	Edw	I	III	RSC	NSC	FSC	FH	SH	BH
Æthelhelm	–	–	–	–	(1)	–	–	1	2	–	–	–

Ilchester

General

Ilchester was one of the mid-sized mints in Somersetshire. It probably commenced to strike coins in connection with the reform.

The name was *Givelcestre* in Domesday Book [Ekwall 1980, 262]. The mint-signature was GIFELCES, GIFELEC, GIFLCE, and GIFLECES (and abbreviations) in the late Anglo-Saxon period [Hd; Smart 1981, 96]. The sole die in the Reform issue reads GIFLE.

Moneyers

The output may well have been as sporadic in the Reform issue as the figure indicates, as the mint is very well covered in the Scandinavian hoards during the Hand issue.

					Edg			EdM	ÆII			
	Ats	Edm	Edr	Edw	Ib	III	RSC	NSC	FSC	FH	SH	BH
Æthelferth	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–
Ælfhelm	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–
Ælfsige	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	6	1	–
God	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	7	–
Wulfhelm	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	6	–
Total	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	15	15	–

All the names are OE in origin.

Dies

The only known die-pair was supplied from Winchester.

	Edgar		Edward		Æthelred II	
	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.
Æthelferth	1	1	–	–	–	–

Die-links

There is no recorded die-link with other mints.

Æthelferth	A 1 a	–	–

Ipswich

General

In Suffolk there were, besides Ipswich, only the two mints of Bury St. Edmunds, which started to strike coins during Edward the Confessor, and Sudbury, which coined sporadicaly from the middle of the reign of Æthelred II.

Ipswich was regained from the Vikings in 917, but as no mint-signed coins are known from Athelstan it would seem that production started at a later date, probably as late as the reform.

The name was *Gipeswic* in Saxon times, and *Gepeswiz* and *Gipeswic* in Domesday Book [Ekwall 1980, 266]. The mint-signature was GIPESWIC and GIPSWI (and abbreviations) in the late Anglo-Saxon period and exceptionally GEPESWIC (Æthelred II First Hand) [Hd; Smart 1981, 96].

Moneyers

Ipswich was a fairly active mint in the Reform issue, when two moneyers seems to have been the quota.

The moneyer Leofing may have been the same individual who is recorded at Cambridge and Norwich.

Waltferth (CG) is the only non-OE name. [For coins in First Small Cross which were provisionally attributed to Ipswich in Jonsson 1987 see Northampton].

The very high figures for First Hand are due to the Ipswich hoard (BI 178) where a third of the 60 recorded coins were struck at Ipswich. The total number of coins in the hoard is uncertain, but c. 250 may have survived based on the figures known for Ipswich.

					Edg		EdM	ÆII			
	Ats	Edm	Edr	Edw	V	RSC	NSC	FSC	FH	SH	BH
Leofing	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	–	–	–	–
Leofric	–	–	–	–	–	6	2	–	15	–	–
Leofwine	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–
Wilbeorht	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	1	1	–	–
Branting	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	7	–	–
Eadgar	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	4	–	–
Godman	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–
Leofman	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	19	–	–
Leofsige	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2
Lytelman	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	21	–
Oswulf	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	4	–	–
Waltferth	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	44	–	–
Total	–	–	–	–	–	8	5	1	96	21	2

Dies

Winchester was the dominant supplier in RSC but local fabrication was also used for both obverse and reverse dies. The latter category was in the majority during NSC, when London also supplied a pair of dies. The only dies known from FSC came from London.

	Edgar		Edward		Æthelred II	
	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.
Leofing	1.5	2	–	–	–	–
Leofric	4.5	5	1.5	2	–	–
Leofwine	–	–	1	1	–	–
Wilbeorht	–	–	1.5	2	1	1
Total	6	7	4	5	1	1

Die-links

There are die-links between the moneyers Leofing (A) and Leofric (A), as well as between Leofric (F) and Wilebeorht (A). No die-links are recorded with other mints. All but one of the die-combinations are known from a single coin only, which indicates that the surviving coins are just a small sample of the original production.

Leofing	A B 1 1 a b	–	–	
Leofric	A B C D E 1 1 1 1 1 a b c d e	F G 1 1 f g		
	–			
Leofwine	–	A 1 a	–	
Wilbeorht	–	A B 1 1 a b	C 1 c	

Leicester

General

Leicester was the only mint in Leicestershire and during the period of Viking rule it was one of the five boroughs. It was recaptured by Æthelflœd in 918, and it is first known from mint-signed coins during Athelstan.

The name was *Ligera ceaster* and *Ligora ceaster* in Saxon times and *Ledecestre* in Domesday Book [Ekwall 1980, 294]. The mint-signature in the late Anglo-Saxon period was changed from LIGERCESTE to LEHERCE during Æthelred II Second Hand and again to LIHER or LIHRA in Crux, while from Cnut onwards it is LEHER or LEHR (and abbreviations), which is also found during Æthelred II Helmet [Hd; Smart 1981, 97]. All four dies in the Reform issue use the mint-signature LIGAR.

Moneyers

The pre-reform coins of Asfrith are not mint-signed and may have been struck elsewhere. There exist Two-line coins of Manna without mint-signature, but they are very common (72 specimens in the hoards), and are hence better associated with Stamford, unless they were struck at both (or more?) mints.

It is possible, or perhaps even likely, that there was an interruption in the coinage following RSC.

					Edg			EdM	ÆII			
	Ats	Edm	Edr	Edw	I	III	RSC	NSC	FSC	FH	SH	BH
Thorsteinn	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Manna	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	–	–	–	–	–
Styrkarr	–	–	–	–	–	–	5	–	–	7	–	–
Wulfstan	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	–	–	–	–	–
Asfrith	–	–	–	–	(8)	(2)	–	–	–	2	3	–
Dun	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	4	4	–
Total	x	–	–	–	+	+	11	–	–	13	7	–

Both Manna and Wulfstan are also known from Stamford and they could be the same persons.

The Viking heritage is seen in the names of the moneyers, where three have ON names (Asfrith, Thorsteinn, and Styrkarr), while the remaining three are OE.

The development at Leicester during the reform issue is a puzzle. The hoard evidence for England is confined to a single coin of Edgar in the Chester 1914 hoard. As both the Chester 1914 and the Oakham hoards cover the north-east extremely well, it is very difficult to explain the absence of coins from Edward and Æthelred II in the two hoards, unless the mint was closed down for some reason during the later part of the Reform issue. The Scandinavian hoards cover the area satisfactorily, as well, and if the mint was in fact operating, some coins would have been expected. However, the activity of the moneyer Styrkarr, and Asfrith, if the pre-reform association is correct, is evidence of a continuity at the mint.

Dies

All recorded dies were obtained from Winchester.

	Edgar		Edward		Æthelred II	
	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.
Manna	1.5	2	–	–	–	–
Styrkarr	0.5	1	–	–	–	–
Wulfstan	2	1	–	–	–	–
Total	4	4	0	0	0	0

Die-links

No die-links with other mints have been recorded. With the exception of the die-pair Manna Bb, all dies are part of a die-chain where Manna (A) = Wulfstan (B), and Styrkarr (A) = Wulfstan (A).

Manna	A 2 a	B 1 b	–	–
Styrkarr	A 4 a	–	–	
Wulfstan	A 2 a –	B 1 a	–	–

Lewes

General

Lewes was the leading mint in Sussex. In the Grateley charters c. 926–30 it was allowed two moneyers and mint-signed coins are also recorded as early as Athelstan.

The name was *Lœwes* in Saxon times and *Lewes* in Domesday Book [Ekwall 1980, 297]. The mint-signature was LÆWE and LÆVE (and abbreviations) in the late Anglo-Saxon period, while LÆWGE was used in Æthelred II Last Small Cross and LÆE during Cnut Quatrefoil [Hd; Smart 1981, 97]. In the Reform issue the mint-signature was LÆW (6 dies) and LÆWE (3 dies). One of the latter dies actually reads LEWE, but the first E is cut over a small letter O, and thus has come to resemble Æ.

Moneyers

The poor representation in the pre-reform period is again a reflection of the lack of hoards from southern England and the lack of mint-signed coins.

					Edg			EdM	ÆII			
	Ats	Edm	Edr	Edw	Ib	III	RSC	NSC	FSC	FH	SH	BH
Eadric	x	(x)	(x)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Willebald	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Goldstan	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	4	1	–
Herebeorht	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	3	10	–
Seaxbeorht	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	1	–	–	–	–
Theodgar	–	–	–	–	–	–	4	3	–	10	1	–
Leofstan	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	10	–	–
Leofwine	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2
Osweald	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1
Total	x	(x)	(x)	–	–	–	7	4	2	27	12	3

None of the moneyers active during the Reform issue is known at any other mint.

The name of the moneyer normalized as Willebald is of CG origin, unless it should be normalized as Wilbeald, in which case it is OE. All the remaining names are OE.

Dies

The dies in RSC and NSC were supplied from Winchester, while the dies in FSC were obtained from London.

	Edgar		Edward		Æthelred II	
	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.
Goldstan	1	1	–	–	–	–
Herebeorht	–	–	–	–	1	2
Seaxbeorht	1	1	1	1	–	–
Theodgar	2	2	3	2	–	–
Total	4	4	4	3	1	2

Die-links

There are no recorded die-links betwen moneyers or with other mints.

Goldstan	A 1 a	–	–
Herebeorht	–	–	A – A 1 1 a b
Seaxbeorht	A 1 a	B 1 b	–
Theodgar	A B 2 1 a b	C D E 1 1 1 c – c d	–

Lincoln

General

Lincoln in the shire with the same name was located at both the Foss Way and Ermine Street. It ranked among the four leading mints in the late Anglo-Saxon period. In the southern part of the county there was also a large mint at Stamford and a minute one at Grantham [Jonsson 1988], as well as four minor mints in the northern part, four of which closed down early in Æthelred II and one in Cnut. The Vikings had struck coins in Lincoln, which imitated Alfred's London monogram type. It is not recorded when the town was regained from the Vikings, but this is usually believed to have been between 918 and 920, although it could also have been as late as 927 [Stafford 1985, 114]. A memorial series was struck in this period. It would seem likely that it was a major mint during Athelstan [Blunt 1974, 88], although there are no mint-signed coins. The products of the mint are, then, anonymous up to the reform.

The name was *Lindcolne* and *Lindcylene* in Saxon times and Lincolia in Domesday Book [Ekwall 1980, 299]. The mint-signature was LINCOLE (and abbreviations during the late Anglo-Saxon period, but LINDCOLE (and abbreviations) is also found up to Æthelred II First Hand [Hd; Smart 1981, 98]. In the Reform issue the mint-signature is LI (4 dies), LIC (1 die), LIN (3 dies), LINC (1 die), LINCL (1 die), LINCOL (3 dies), LIND (4 dies), LINDC (2 dies), LINDCL (3 dies), LINDCLO (1 die), LINDCO (3 dies), LINDCOL (9 dies), LINDCOLE (1 die), LINDCOLN (1 die), LINL (1 die), LINDOL (3 dies), LINDOLNE (1 die), LNDCOL (4 dies), as well as the more blundered LNDLOIG (1 die) and LNN (1 die).

Moneyers

The minute figures for the coinage just before the reform are due to the lack of hoards and the brief duration of the coinage. The coinage is otherwise very well covered in the hoards.

The moneyers Farthegn and Ubeinn are not recorded during the Reform issue and the connections with the pre-reform moneyers with the same names are thus not certain.

Four moneyers could be identical with moneyers with the same name working at other mints during the Reform issue. They concern Æscman and Leofing at Stamford, and Svertingr at York. The Grimr known at Bedford, Derby and Stamford must denote at least two different moneyers.

Names of ON origin are dominant, with eight entries, while five names are OE (Æscman, Eanwulf, Goding, Leofing, and Theodgild), and two are CG (Adalaver and Rodbert).

					Edg			EdM	ÆII			
	Ats	Edm	Edr	Edw	I	III	RSC	NSC	FSC	FH	SH	BH
Adalaver	–	–	–	–	64	–	–	6	–	–	–	–
Æscman	–	–	–	–	(5)	–	3	–	–	1	–	–
Eanwulf	–	–	–	(x)	49	–	8	4	–	–	–	–
Farthegn	–	–	–	(x)	(36)	–	–	–	–	11	–	–
Leofing	–	–	–	(x)	7	2	2	24	7	2	–	–
Ubeinn	–	–	(x)	(x)	(35)	–	–	–	–	11	–	–
Goding	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	2	12	–	–
Grimr	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	4	–	–	–
Grind	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	6	7	5	–	–
Hafgrimr	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	4	–	–	–
Rodbert	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	8	3	–	–
Svertingr	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	5	1	–	–
Kolgrimr	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	–	–
Theodgild	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	14	–	–
Thor[?]	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–
Total	–	–	(x)	(x)	110+	2	14	49	37	64	–	–

Dies

Besides a few obverse and reverse dies of local fabrication Lincoln acquired all dies from Winchester during RSC. This changed radically during NSC when nearly all dies were cut locally (Lincoln style and one of odd local style), and London supplied a single pair of dies. In FSC Lincoln was completely self-sufficient.

	Edgar		Edward		Æthelred II	
	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.
Adalaver	–	–	1.5	2	–	–
Æscman	2	2	–	–	–	–
Eanwulf	2	2	1	3	–	–
Goding	–	–	1	1	1	1
Grimr	–	–	1	1.5	2	1.5
Grind	1	1	1	4	4	3
Hafgrimr	–	–	1	2	1	3
Leofing	1	1	5	10	2	2
Rodbert	–	–	2	2	1	3
Svertingr	–	–	1	1	1	2
Total	6	6	14.5	26.5	12	15.5

Die-links

No die-links have been recorded between moneyers. There is one die-link with another mint, which involves Adelaver (B) and Oda (D) at York.

Adalaver				
		A	B	
	–	5	1	–
		a	b	

Æscman				
	A	B		
	2	1	–	–
	a	b		

Eanwulf								
	A	B	C	–	C	–	C	
	4	3	2		1		1	–
	a	b	c		d		e	

Goding			
		A	B
	–	1	2
		a	b

Grimr						
		A	–	A	B	C
	–	1		1	3	1
		a		b –	b	c

Grind								
	A	B	–	B	–	B	–	B
	1	3		1		1		1
	a	b		c		d		e
	C	D		E		F		
	3	1		1		1		
	f –	f		g		h		

Hafgrimr										
		A	–	A	B	–	B	–	B	
	–	2		1	2		1		1	
		a		b	c		d		e	

Leofing	A	B –	B –	B –	B	C								
	1	5	2	1	2	1								
	a	b	c	d	e –	e								
	D –	D –	D –	D	E	F	G	H						
	2	1	1	1	4	4	5	1						
	f	g	h	i	j	k	l	m						

Rodbert		A	B	C –	C –	C
	–	1	1	4	3	1
		a	b	c	d	e
Svertingr		A	B –	B		
	–	1	2	2		
		a	b	c		

London

General

Coins had been struck at London even by the Romans and it was the leading mint in England during most of the Anglo-Saxon period. Ælfred had recaptured the town from Guthrum in 886, and the famous London monogram type was struck there in c. 886–8. London was entitled to eight moneyers in the Grateley charters and a total of 15 operated there during Athelstan [Blunt 1974, 62]. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle records a great fire in 962 but the recovery was evidently rapid [EHD 226].

The name was *Lundene* and exceptionally *Lundenceaster* in Saxon times [Ekwall 1980, 303]. The mint-signature in the late Anglo-Saxon period was at first LONDONI and LVNDONI (and abbreviations) up to Æthelred II Crux, and gave way to LVNDENE (and abbreviations) [Smart 1981, 98]. In the Reform issue the mint-signature was LV (2 dies), LVN (15 dies), LVND (4 dies), LVNDEN (1 die), LVND(I?) (1 die), LVNDO (1 die), LVNDONI (1 die) and VN (1 die). The die with mint-signature VN is clearly an engraver's error.

Moneyers

The lack of hoards from the south makes it difficult to judge the importance of the mint in the pre-reform period, but the figures presented can hardly do justice to the size of the coinage. The number of coins known from Edgar's pre-reform period (21), however, is far above that of any other mint in the south and is an indication of the potential volume of the London mint during the period. The growing importance of London as a regional and finally national die-cutting centre during NSC and FSC is not reflected in the figures for the surviving coins.

					Edg				EdM	ÆII			
	Ats	Edm	Edr	Edw	V	X	III	RSC	NSC	FSC	FH	SH	BH
Æthelferth	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Æthelwulf	–	–	–	x	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Beagrœd	x	(x)	(x)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Beorhtric	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Beornheard	x	(x)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Ecglaf	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Fawle	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Garheard	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Grimwald	x	(x)	(x)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Hildwine	–	–	–	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Ighar	x	(x)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Leofhelm	x	(x)	(x)	(x)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Manna	x	(x)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Wulfhelm	x	(x)	(x)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Ælfnoth	–	–	–	–	3	–	1	2	–	–	1	8	–
Ælfstan	x	(x)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	10	–	–
Æthelrœd	x	–	–	–	5	–	1	2	3	1	37	27	1
Æthelsige	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	2	–	–
Æthelweald	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	12	5	1	–	1	–
Beorhtsige	–	–	–	–	3	–	–	–	–	–	15	20	–

Eahlstan	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	5	18	–
Moneyer?	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Ælfweard	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	4	–	–	6	–
Æthelric	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–
Æthelstan	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	–	9	–	–
Eadmund	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	5	17	5
Leofheh	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	2	–	–
Wigferth	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	2	–	–	–	–
Ælfgar	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	23	14	1
Ælfgeat	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	14	–
Ælfweald	x	(x)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	11	–	–
Ælfwine	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	12	–	–
Æthelwine	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3
Æthelwulf	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	12	–
Asfrith	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	11	2
Asketill	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	8	27	–
Beorhtlaf	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	7	–
Beornwulf	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	10	14	–
Ceolnoth	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	4	–
Cynesige	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	20	8	–
Eadhelm	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	11	8	3
Eadlaf	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	–
Eadnoth	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	–
Eadsige	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	2
Eadweald	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	–	–
Eadwig	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	17	–
Eadwine	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	18	–
Ecgferth	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	6	–
God	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	13	13	–
Godric	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	7	–	–
Godwine	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	22	13	3
Leofric	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	13	–	–
Leofstan	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	11	20	–
Leofwine	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	6	12	–
Oswulf	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	19	20	–
Sibwine	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	8	–	–
Siduwine	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	7	–
Swethyse	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	–
Sweting	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	8	–
Theodrœd	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	6	–
Wulfmœr	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	9	–
Wulfric	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	16	6	–
Wulfstan	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	10	13	1
Wynsige	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	5	1	–
Total	x	(x)	(x)	x	15	1	5	20	16	2	327	407	19

Five moneyers have names that are also found at other mints during the Reform issue and the connection which concern Ælfweard at Guildford seems likely, while others are perhaps less likely: Ælfnoth at Winchcombe; Æthelred at Lydford; Æthelstan at Canterbury, Gloucester, and Lympne; Æthelweald at York.

Of a total of sixty-three names two are CG (Grimwald and Ighar), while two could be ON or OE (Asfrith/Osferth and Asketill/Oscytel), one obscure (Fawle), and the remainder OE.

Dies

All dies were supplied from Winchester during RSC. Local dies (London A and B style and a few of odd local styles) account for all dies during NSC; one each of the two pair of dies in FSC are of the national London style and of odd local style, respectively.

	Edgar		Edward		Æthelred II	
	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.
Ælfnoth	1	1	–	–	–	–
Ælfweard	–	–	2	3	–	–
Æthelræd	2	2	1	2	1	1
Æthelric	1	1	–	–	–	–
Æthelstan	1	1	1	1	–	–
Æthelweald	6	6	4	3	1	1
Eadmund	1	1	–	–	–	–
Leofheh	–	–	1	1	–	–
Wigferth	1	1	1	1	–	–
Total	13	13	10	11	2	2

Die-links

There are no die-links between moneyers or with other mints.

Ælfnoth	A 1 a	–	–
Ælfweard	–	A – A B 1 1 1 a b c	–
Æthelræd	A 1 a	B C – C 1 2 1 b c d	D 1 e
Æthelric	A 1 a	–	–
Æthelstan	A 1 a	B 1 b	–
Æthelweald	A B – B C D E F 3 1 1 2 1 1 1 a – a b c d e f	G H I J 2 1 1 1 g – g h i	K 1 j
Eadmund	A 1 a	–	–
Leofheh	–	A 1 a	–
Wigferth	A 1 a	B 2 b	–

Louth? ('LV...')

General

A fragment of a Lincoln style penny of the Reform issue with the mint-signature beginning with 'LV..' has been identified with Louth in Lincolnshire [Dolley 1957A, 499-504]. Nothing has since brought new light to the problem. Although it is hazardous to attribute a coin to a specific mint when only two letters of the mint-signature are visible, there seems to be no reason at present to reject the proposed attribution to Louth.

The name was *Lude* and *Ludes* in Domesday Book [Ekwall 1980, 305].

Moneyer

Only the last part of the name of the moneyer remains on the fragment. The name of the king is not found at all on the remaining part of the coin. On stylistic grounds Dolley assigned it to Edward the Martyr [Dolley 1957A, 499-500], but Æthelred II is equally possible.

					Edg			EdM	ÆII			
	Ats	Edm	Edr	Edw	I	III	RSC	NSC	FSC	FH	SH	BH
[?]ald	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–

Dies

The dies were supplied from Lincoln.

	Edgar		Edward		Æthelred II	
	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.
[?]ald	–	–	1	1	–	–

Die-links

No die-link with other mints have been found.

[?]ald	–	A 1 a	–

'Lvveic'

General

Many suggestions have been brought forth to explain the mint-signature and mints which have been discussed include Gloucester, Lewes, Louth, Luffwick. The problem was most recently discussed by Blunt and Lyon who suggested Chester as the most likely candidate [Blunt & Lyon 1979, 116-17].

Moneyer

Horncastle is the only other mint where a moneyer Æthelhelm is recorded in the Reform issue, which would make Louth a likely candidate but the style makes that less likely although it cannot be ruled out altogether.

The name Æthelhelm is of OE origin.

Dies

The style of the dies is odd. However, the most likely areas are Wessex, East Anglia, and the southern Danelaw. The latter area (together with Lympne in Wessex) is perhaps the best choice, since many odd styles are found in this area during Edward [See also section 4.4].

	Edgar		Edward		Æthelred II	
	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.
Æthelhelm	–	–	1	1	–	–

Die-links

No die-link is recorded with other mints.

Æthelhelm	–	A 1 a	–

					Edg						EdM	ÆII			
	Ats	Edm	Edr	Edw	I	II	III	IV	V	RSC	NSC	FSC	FH	SH	BH
Æthelhelm	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–

Lydford

General

Lydford usually ranked second among the Devonshire mints. It probably started to operate in connection with the reform.

The name was *Hlidan, Hlidaford,* and *Hlydanford* in Saxon times [Ekwall 1980, 308]. The mint-signature in the late Anglo-Saxon period was LYDANFORD (and abbreviations) up to Æthelred II Last Small Cross when a change to LYDAFORD (and abbreviations) appears to take place, while HLYDAF and LHYDA (and abbreviations) are also found during Cnut [Smart 1981, 99]. In the Reform issue HLYD (1 die) and LYDA (1 die) were used.

Moneyers

	Ats	Edm	Edr	Edw	Edg III	RSC	EdM NSC	ÆII FSC	FH	SH	BH
Æthelræd	–	–	–	–	–	–	4	–	–	–	–
Godwine	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	11	–
Total	–	–	–	–	–	–	4	–	3	11	–

Æthelred is otherwise only recorded at London in the Reform issue but a connection must be regarded as doubtful.

The names of both moneyers are OE.

Dies

The dies were acquired from Winchester.

	Edgar Obv.	Edgar Rev.	Edward Obv.	Edward Rev.	Æthelred II Obv.	Æthelred II Rev.
Æthelræd	–	–	1	2	–	–

Die-links

No die-link has been recorded with other mints.

Æthelræd	–	A	–	A	–
		2		2	
		a		b	

Lympne

General

Lympne usually ranked third among the Kentish mints after Canterbury and Rochester. Mint-signed coins are first recorded during Athelstan.

The name was *et Liminum* in Saxon times [Ekwall 1980, 309]. The mint-signature was varied in the late Anglo-Saxon period, with forms such as LIMAN, LIMENE, LIMNA, LIMNV [Hd; Smart 1981, 100]. In the Reform iussue the mint-signature was LIM (1 die), LIME (2 dies), LIMEN (3 dies), LIMENE (1 die), LIMN (4 dies), LMA (2 dies), and LMEN (1 die).

Moneyers

The Floral/cross type, which has previously been attributed to Leicester, has here been assigned to Lympne. The mint was evidently important in the Reform issue and it is exceptional, since more coins have survived from the Reform issue than from the Hand issue (Bedford, Lincoln, Northampton, and Stamford are other examples which, however, are due to the bias of the Oakham and the Chester 1914 hoards). During the Reform issue the frequent use of locally cut dies as well as the use of low weight standards (see sections 4.4 and 4.5) could indicate abuses at the mint. If so it could eventually have resulted in a purge when the guilty moneyers were punished.

	Ats	Edm	Edr	Edw	Edg III	VIII	RSC	EdM NSC	ÆII FSC	FH	SH	BH
Beorhtnoth	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–
Torhthelm	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Ælfweald	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–
Æthelstan	–	–	–	–	–	–	6	7	1	–	–	–
Beorhtric	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	2	–	–	–	–
Leofweald	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–
Leofwine	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	2	–	1	–	–
Wine	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	2	–	–
Eadstan	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	3	–
Leofric	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	4	6	2
Total	x	–	–	–	–	1	9	14	1	10	9	2

The fact is that Leofwine and Wine, who are the only two moneyers known from both the Reform and the Hand issues, are the sole moneyers in NSC who are not known to have used locally cut dies; the average weight of their surviving coins is also higher (1.33 g) compared to the average of the other moneyers combined (1.21 g). The reduced activety at the mint during the Hand issue would then be a result of the purge.

One of the coins has been restruck since there are traces of a cross in the centre of the bust and incuse marks above and below it have been taken to suggest that it was struck on a coin of the Two-line type and not simply turned in the dies. [Blackburn & Bonser 1986, no. 133]. Some features, however, must prompt caution. The incuse marks are somewhat misplaced and some are probably not incuse marks but part of the design of the new coin. The Two-line type is also not at all the type one would expect to find in circulation in the south at this time. The coin appears to have been corroded and heavily cleaned which in part would explain the low weight (1.17 g), which is not, however, much below the average weight (1.25 g) for the type at Lympne.

A number of moneyers have names which are also found at other mints during the Reform issue. The most likely associations concern Æthelstan and Wine at Canterbury, while associations with Beorhtric at Wareham and Leofweald at Wilton are not that obvious.

All the names of the moneyers are of OE origin.

Dies

The discrepant pattern of the die-supply has been touched upon above. During RSC half of the number of dies were of local fabrication and the other half were obtained from Winchester; the pattern is almost exactly the same during NSC. The single pair of dies in FSC were acquired from Canterbury.

	Edgar		Edward		Æthelred II	
	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.
Ælfweald	1	1	–	–	–	–
Æthelstan	3	2	5.3	4	1	1
Beorhtric	1	1	2	2	–	–
Leofweald	–	–	0.3	1	–	–
Leofwine	1	1	1	1	–	–
Wine	–	–	1	1	–	–
Total	6	5	9.6	9	1	1

Die-links

Æthelstan (E) die-links with Leofweald (A) as well as with Wynstan (A) at Southampton.

Ælfweald	A 1 a	–	–				
Æthelstan	A 2 a –	B 2 a	C 1 b	D 2 c –	E 1 c –	F 1 c	G 1 d
	H 1 e	I 1 f	J 1 g				
Beorhtric	A 1 a	B 1 b	C 1 c	–			
Leofweald	–	A 1 a	–				
Leofwine	A 1 a	B 2 b	–				
Wine	–	A 2 a	–				

Maldon

General

Edward the Elder built a fortress at Maldon in c. 916. Mint-signed coins are first known from Athelstan and Maldon was the only mint in Essex up to Æthelred II Crux, when Colchester began to strike (Horndon later struck one type in the reign of Edward the Confessor).

The name was *Mældun* in Saxon times, and *Malduna* and *Melduna* in Domesday Book [Ekwall 1980, 312]. The mint-signature was MÆLDVN (and abbreviations) and some confusion exists with the mint-signature for Malmesbury [Hd; Smart 1981, 100]. MÆL (1 die) was used during the Reform issue.

					Edg			EdM	ÆII			
	Ats	Edm	Edr	Edw	V	III	RSC	NSC	FSC	FH	SH	BH
Abenel	x	(x)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Beorhtferth	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	–	–	–	–
Ælfwine	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–
Eadweald	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	–	–
Leofwine	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–
Sigeweald	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–
Total	x	(x)	–	–	–	–	2	–	–	4	2	–

Moneyers

The coinage seems to have been small before the reform as well as during the early post-reform period. The Scandinavian hoards account for almost all of the surviving coins from the early post-reform period.

Beorhtferth is also known as a moneyer at Bath during the Reform issue, but they are probably different persons.

The origin of the name Abenel is obscure, but the other names are OE.

	Edgar		Edward		Æthelred II	
	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.
Beorhtferth	1	1	–	–	–	–

Dies

The recorded pair of dies was supplied from Winchester.

Die-links

No die-link has been found with other mints.

Beorhtferth	A 1 a	–	–

Malmesbury

General

There were half a dozen mints in Wiltshire in Anglo-Saxon times and Malmesbury was one of the minor ones. It is not known from mint-signed coins before the reform.

The name was *Mealdmes byrig* in Saxon times and *Malmesberie* in Domesday Book [Ekwall 1980, 312]. The mint-signature was MEALDN on the only known die from the Reform issue.

Moneyer

The mint is located in an area which is evidently poorly covered in the Scandinavian hoards and the coinage may have been larger than the figures would indicate.

					Edg				EdM	ÆII			
	Ats	Edm	Edr	Edw	Ib	V	III	RSC	NSC	FSC	FH	SH	BH
Leofing	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–
Ealdræd	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–
Total	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	1	–

Leofing is a common name and also found at many other mints during the Reform issue and there is probably no connection.

Both names are OE.

Dies

The dies were obtained from Winchester.

	Edgar		Edward		Æthelred II	
	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.
Leofing	1	1	–	–	–	–

Die-links

No die-link is recorded with other mints.

Leofing	A 1 a	–	–

Newark

General

Newark was the smaller of the two mints in Nottinghamshire. It was recaptured from the Vikings in 920 and is first recorded on mint-signed coins in connection with the reform.

The name was *Newercha* in Saxon times and *Newerche* in Domesday Book [Ekwall 1980, 339]. The mint-signature was NIWOR during Cnut [Smart 1981, 100]. During Edgar it was NIWV (1 die), and NIEWEN (1 die) during Edward.

Moneyer

The name of the moneyer is unusual, but a moneyer Ingolfr is also found for one of Edgar's Two-line varieties without mint-signature. The two moneyers are likely to denote the same individual although he may of course have moved to Newark from another mint.

					Edg			EdM	ÆII		
	Ats	Edm	Edr	Edw	I	III	RSC	NSC	FSC	FH	SH
Ingolfr	–	–	–	–	19	–	2	1	–	–	–

The name of the moneyer Ingolfr is ON.

Dies

During RSC the obverse dies were acquired from Winchester but the reverse die was of (odd) local fabrication. The dies during NSC were supplied from Stamford.

	Edgar		Edward		Æthelred II	
	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.
Ingolfr	2	1	1	1	–	–

Die-links

No die-link has been found with other mints.

Ingolfr	A B 1 1 a – a	C 1 b	–

Newport Pagnall

General

Newport Pagnall in Northamptonshire was a borough founded by Edward the Elder. There exist pre-reform coins struck during Edwig and Edgar with the mint-signature 'NEWE/NIWE' or 'NIWANPO' [Archibald Blunt 1986, no. 813-5, 1077]. A mint 'NIWEPORTE', which operated briefly during Edward the Confessor, could refer to Newport in Essex or Newport Pagnall in Northamptonshire [Freeman 1985, 214-17]. The pre-reform coins of Edwig and Edgar are no doubt to be identified with Newport Pagnall. The sole specimen of Edgar has similarities with coins of the same type struck at Buckingham.

The name of Newport Pagnall was *Neuport* in Domesday Book [Ekwall 1980, 341].

During the Reform issue there are no coins that can be connected to this mint, but it may have operated then. Coins of the Reform issue struck during Edgar and Edward with mint-signature 'NIWV' or 'NIEWEN' were struck at Newark, and the First Hand coins with the mint-signature 'NIWAN', cannot be associated with either Newport or Newport Pagnall.

Moneyers

					Edg			EdM	ÆII			
	Ats	Edm	Edr	Edw	I	III	RSC	NSC	FSC	FH	SH	BH
Ælfsige	–	–	–	–	(1)	1	–	–	–	–	–	–
Cylm	–	–	–	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Klakkr	–	(x)	(x)	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Total	–	(x)	(x)	x	+	1	–	–	–	–	–	–

The names are of diverse origin with one each of OE (Ælfsige), ON (Klakkr), and one obscure (Cylm).

Northampton

General

Northampton was usually the only mint in the county since the mint at Peterborough operated sporadically. A second fortification was built there after Edward the Elder had recaptured it from the Vikings in 918 [Stafford 1985, 113]. The first mint-signed coins were struck during Edwig, but the names of the moneyers indicate that operations commenced not later than Edmund.

The name was *Hamton* and *Hamtun* in Saxon times, and *Hantone* and *Northantone* in Domesday Book [Ekwall 1980, 343]. The mint-signature was HAMTVN in the late Anglo-Saxon period [Smart 1981, 101]. During the Reform issue the mint-signature often appears irregular but that is mainly due to the fact that the letters H, M, and N are rendered in almost the same fashion in the Lincoln style. The forms which occur are: HA (1 die), HÆT (1 die), HAFT (1 die), HAM (6 dies), HAMT (3 dies), HAMTV (2 dies), HAMTVN (2 dies), HAN (2 dies), HA(NO) (1 die), HANT (1 die), HANTVN (1 die), HATVN (1 die), HMTV (1 die), NAHI (1 die), NAM (1 die), and NAMT (1 die). Some or part of the mint-signatures may not have been intended as such.

Moneyers

A group of coins in FSC with an unintelligible mint-signature (H)ÆT and struck by a moneyer who is spelled LEOFRNE or LEOFRNF on two known dies presents problems. The moneyer was previously, with some doubt, attributed to Ipswich, based on two facts [Jonsson 1987, 59]. Firstly the name of a moneyer at Ipswich (mint-signature GI) in NSC, is spelled LEOFRNE. Secondly a coin by the moneyer VILhEHT in FSC and with an unintelligible mint-signature ATE is no doubt to be associated with the moneyer Wilebeorht who is recorded at Ipswich in NSC as well as in First Hand. An association of the first group of coins with Ipswich must be rejected, based on the two styles found on the coins. The first style is Lincoln, which in FCS is not found south of Northampton. The second style is otherwise found at Northampton (one die) and York (one die). Although no moneyer by the name LEOFRNE is known at Northampton in this period the evidence must point to Northampton as the likely mint since both styles would be acceptable there. The mint-signature (H)ÆT could then either be a blundered HAMT(VNE) or simply a blundered continuation of (MO)NETA. The name of the moneyer is here provisionally normalized Leofwine, but it is possible that the name should have been Leofsige (who is an attested Northampton moneyer) since the two known dies are very similar and the one may simply have been copied from the other.

A coin of Cylm [Edinburgh – ex Iona hoard; Stevenson 1966, no. 649] has been attributed to Edgar. Both obverse and reverse are of the regional Lincoln style and the obverse legend is double-struck and probably reads EADWEAR which is a common spelling of the king's name for the style during NSC. It is thus likely that the coin should be attributed to Edward's reign.

The name Cylm is unusual but also found at Newport Pagnall in the pre-reform period and a connection is likely. Associations with other moneyers active in the Reform issue are less likely and involve Leofwine at Tamworth and Osweald at Warwick.

There is a strong continental element among the names of the moneyers with five CG names (Adelbrand, Baldric, Ginard, Radulf, and Warin), while two each are ON (Ketill and Thorfrithr) or obscure (Cylm and Mancrent), and the remainder are OE.

					Edg				EdM	ÆII			
	Ats	Edm	Edr	Edw	I	V	III	RSC	NSC	FSC	FH	SH	BH
Adelbrand	–	–	–	x	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Boga	–	–	–	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Dudman	–	–	(x)	x	–	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	–
Eadwulf	–	–	–	x	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–
Ginard	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–
Heardbeorht	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–
Hysebeald	–	–	(x)	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Radulf	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–
Warin	–	(x)	(x)	x	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–
Wineman	–	–	–	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Baldric	–	–	(x)	x	–	–	3	2	–	–	–	–	–
Mantat	–	–	–	–	–	2	2	4	1	–	–	–	–
Thorfrithr	–	–	(x)	x	–	–	4	1	–	–	–	–	–
Cylm	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	4	3	2	–	–	–
Ketill	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	–	–	–
Leofhelm	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	–	1	–	–	–	–
Leofsige	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	10	4	–	3	–	–
Leofwine?	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	–	–	–
Mancrent	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	4	3	–	–	–
Osweald	–	–	–	–	–	–	4	2	2	–	–	–	–
Bruning	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–
Total	–	(x)	(x)	x	–	4	23	23	17	8	4	–	–

Dies

Winchester was the exclusive supplier of dies during RSC, and still accounted for almost half of the dies during NSC when Lincoln became a major supplier. Two dies were of local fabrication, while London and Stamford each account for one pair of dies. Half of the number of dies during FSC came from local supply (Northampton style) and Lincoln, respectively.

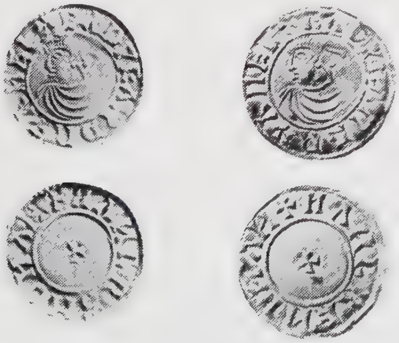


Fig. 4.41. NSC, Northampton, Mancrent before and after obverse and reverse dies had been recut.

One of the two pair of dies by the moneyer Mancrent during Edward represents the only recorded examples of a recut obverse and reverse die. The obverse legend has been recut from EADWEARGR+ANEL to EADWEARDR+ANGL, and the reverse legend from MANCREMOHAM to MANCRENTHAM (fig. 4.41). While the obverse legend was misspelt the reverse legend was changed to included the full name of the moneyer at the expense of the copulative.

	Edgar		Edward		Æthelred II	
	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.
Baldric	1	1	–	–	–	–
Cylm	1	1	3	3	0.5	1
Ketill	–	–	1	1	–	–
Leofhelm	–	–	1	1	–	–
Leofsige	3	3	3.5	3	–	–
Leofwine?	–	–	–	–	2	2
Mancrent	–	–	2	2	1	1
Mantat	2	3	0.5	1	–	–
Osweald	1	1	1	1	–	–
Thorfrithr	1	1	–	–	–	–
Total	9	10	12	12	3.5	4

Die-links

Die-links between moneyers are confined to Leofsige (D) and Mantat (C).

There is also a die-link with another mint which concerns Cylm (E) and York, Fastulfr (G).

Baldric	A 2 a	–	–		
Cylm	A 2 a	B 1 b	C 1 c	D 1 d	E 2 e
Ketill	–	A 2 a	–		
Leofhelm	–	A 1 a	–		

Leofsige	A 5 a	B 2 b	C 2 c	D 1 d	E 1 – d	F 1 e
	G 1 f	–				
Leofwine?	–	–	A 2 a	B 1 b		
Mancrent	–	A 3 a	B 1 b	C 3 c		
Mantat	A 1 a	– A 1 b	B 1 c	C 1 d	–	
Osweald	A 2 a	B 1 b	–			
Thorfrithr	A 1 a	–	–			

Norwich

General

There were two important mints in Norfolk, of which Thetford was the leading one in the post-reform period. Whether Thetford was active during Edgar's pre-reform period is not established with certainty. Norwich was recaptured from the Vikings in 917, and is first recorded on mint-signed coins during Athelstan's reign.

The name was *Northwic* in Saxon times and *Noruic* in Domesday Book [Ekwall 1980, 345]. The mint-signature was NORĐWICE (and abbreviations) during the late Anglo-Saxon period [Smart 1981, 101]. In the Reform issue the mint-signature was NORĐW (1 die), NORĐ (4 dies), NORĐWIC (3 dies), and NRĐWI (1 die).

					Edg		EdM	ÆII			
	Ats	Edm	Edr	Edw	V	RSC	NSC	FSC	FH	SH	BH
Burdel	x	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Eadgar	x	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Giongbeald	x	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Hrodgar	x	x	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Manna	x	x	x	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–
Manticen	x	x	(x)	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–
Secgga	x	–	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Asleikr	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	–	–	–	–
Branting	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	12	8	–
Ercenbald	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	–	–	–	–
Leofing	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	–	12	–	3
Manning	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	1	10	10	1
Nordbert	–	–	(x)	–	4	3	–	–	–	–	–
Folcard	–	–	–	–	4	–	–	–	1	2	–
Svertingr	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	6	7	2
Total	x	x	x	–	10	9	4	1	41	27	6

Moneyers

The extensive Anglo-Saxon settlement at Norwich, which based on recorded tenements during the reign of Edward the Confessor ranked third before Lincoln, is not quite reflected in the size of the coinage [Biddle 1976, 468-9]. However, the Morley St. Peter hoard (BI 107) gives evidence of a massive coinage at the beginning of the tenth century and the lack of hoards of a later date from the area could partly explain this discrepancy. During Edwig the figures for the surviving coins indicate a complete halt, which is probably fictitious.

The moneyer Leofing could have been active at Cambridge and/or Ipswich as well.

The continental element is strong among the moneyers and four names are CG (Ercenbald, Folcard, Hrodgar, and Nordbert). Two names are ON (Asleikr and Svertingr), while one is obscure (Manticen) and the remainder are OE.

The total absence of coins from Edwig may at first be surprising, but if it is compared with Edgar, when only two out of ten coins have a hoard provenance and a further two are from stray-finds, it is obvious that it is left to chance whether a coin would have survived or not from Edwig's short reign. Three of the moneyers also bridge the gap, as they are known from both before and after Edwig's reign.

Dies

The supply of dies during RSC was shared between Winchester and regional (Norwich style) fabrication. London was the sole supplier during NSC and FSC.

	Edgar		Edward		Æthelred II	
	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.
Asleikr	1	1	–	–	–	–
Branting	–	–	1	1	–	–
Ercenbald	1	1	–	–	–	–
Leofing	1	1	–	–	–	–
Manning	–	–	1	3	1	1
Nordbert	1	1	–	–	–	–
Total	4	4	2	4	1	1

Die-links

There are no die-links between moneyers or with other mints.

Asleikr	A 2 a	–	–
Branting	–	A 1 a	–
Ercenbald	A 2 a	–	–
Leofing	A 2 a	–	–
Manning	–	A – A – A 1 1 1 a b c	B 1 d
Nordbert	A 3 a	–	–

Nottingham

General

Of the two mints in Nottinghamshire (Newark and Nottingham), Newark exhibits a brief activity before and after the reform. Edward the Elder recaptured Nottingham from the Vikings in 922 and built a second fortress there, which secured the bridge [Stafford 1985, 113]. The earliest mint-signed coins are from Athelstan's reign.

The name was *Snotingaham* in Saxon times and *Snotingeham* in Domesday Book [Ekwall 1980, 345]. The mint-signature was SNOTINC and SNOTINGEH in the late Anglo-Saxon period [Smart 1981, 102].

Moneyers

Although no coins are at present known from the Reform issue, it is likely that some will be found one day, since the mint was active before as well as shortly afterwards. This could be a parallel to Leicester, which is also very poorly covered in the two English hoards from Oakham and Chester, in spite of the fact that both otherwise cover north-eastern England very well.

					Edg			EdM	ÆII			
	Ats	Edm	Edr	Edw	I	III	RSC	NSC	FSC	FH	SH	BH
Æthelnoth	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Asulfr	x	(x)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Manna	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–
Sumarlithr	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	2	–
Total	x	(x)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	2	–

Two names each are of OE (Æthelnoth and Manna) and ON (Asulfr and Sumarlithr) origin.

Oxford

General

Oxford, which in 911 became part of Wessex, was the only mint in the county of the same name during the late Anglo-Saxon period. In the pre-reform period there was possibly also a mint at Warborough (see ‘Weardburh’). Coins with mint-signature are first recorded during the reign of Athelstan.

The name was *Oxenaford* and *Oxnaford* in Saxon times and *Oxeneford* in Domesday book [Ekwall 1980, 355]. The mint-signature shows variation in the late Anglo-Saxon period with OXNAFO (and abbreviations) usual during Æthelred II, while Cnut usually has OCXENE and OXSENA (and abbreviations), and finally from Harold I onwards it usually has OCXENE (and abbreviations) [Hd; Smart 1981 102]. The mint-signature in the Reform issue is OXNA (6 dies), OXS (1 die), as well as the more or less blundered ON+A (1 die), O-+NA (1 die), and O-+A (1 die).

Moneyers

Oxford was evidently an important mint in the pre-reform period and three moneyers struck coins there during RSC, while the number of surviving coins from the remainder of the

					Edg			EdM	ÆII			
	Ats	Edm	Edr	Edw	Ib	III	RSC	NSC	FSC	FH	SH	BH
Æthelmund	(x)	(x)	(x)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Cristin	–	–	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Eardwulf	x	(x)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Ingalric	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Leofsige	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–
Mæthelweald	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Regenward	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Sigeland	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Othilric	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Wulfstan	–	–	–	–	–	3	–	–	–	–	–	–
Wynhelm	x	(x)	x	x	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–
Æthelwine	–	–	–	–	–	1	4	–	–	3	–	–
Seleweald	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	–	–	–	–	–
Wulfræd	–	–	–	–	–	–	18	4	–	–	–	–
Ælfwine	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–
Æthelmær	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	5	–
Goding	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	6	–
Total	x	(x)	x	x	–	–	23	4	–	6	12	–

Reform issue as well as from the Hand issue (when the number of moneyers again reaches three) is low. This may well be a reflection of the fact that neither the English nor the Scandinavian hoards cover the Oxford area satisfactorily. With one exception the dies are also often known from only a single coin each and the production could thus have been appreciably higher.

Four of the names are CG (Ingalric, Othilric, Regenward, and Sigeland), one is Latin (Cristin), and the remainder are OE.

Dies

Dispite the fact that Oxford was part of Wessex from the early tenth century on, the coinage is witness of contacts in other directions. While Winchester supplied all the dies in RSC, Lincoln supplied two pairs of dies as against one pair from Winchester during NSC.

	Edgar		Edward		Æthelred II	
	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.
Æthelwine	2	3	–	–	–	–
Seleweald	1	1	–	–	–	–
Wulfræd	2	3	3	3	–	–
Total	5	7	3	3	0	0

Die-links

The moneyer Wulfrœd in RSC offers an extreme example of a large number of die-identical coins with mostly Scandinavian provenances. Since not all of the coins were avilable for die-identification the number is likely to increase even further in the future.

No die-links have been recorded between moneyers or with other mints.

Æthelwine	A – A B 2 1 1 a b c	–	–
Seleweald	A 1 a	–	–
Wulfræd	A – A B 13 2 2 a b c	C – C D F 1 1 1 1 d e – e g	–

Peterborough

General

The monastery at Peterborough ranked among the dozen most important in late Anglo-Saxon England based on the Domesday valuation [Hill 1984, 154]. In 972 Edgar granted the right of one moneyer at Stamford to the abbot [Wells 1935, 50]. It has been suggested that the coins which were struck at Stamford for the abbot had an annulet added to the reverse [Andrew 1901, 363-4], a suggestion that has been debated over the years [Stewart 1956; Wells 1944, 69-72]. The annulet is seen as the ring of St. Peter, being the sign of investiture. A surprisingly large number of moneyers are involved in the Reform issue and in some cases the annulet has been erased (table 4.18).

	Edgar	Edward	Æthelred II
Ælfweald	–	–/–/–/–/–/x	o/o/x
Cnapa	–	–/–/–/–/–/o	
Hild		–/–/–/–/–/–	x
Leofing		–	o/o
Wulfgar	–/–/–/–/–/–	–/–/–/–/o	–/o/ox
Wulfstan		–	–/o

Table. 4.18. Stamford moneyers recorded from reverse dies with an annulet. o = annulet, x = erased annulet, – = no annulet. Different dies are separated with a slash (ox means that the die in question is known both with the annulet as well as with the annulet erased). Wulfgar's die with an annulet during NSC is the same as one of the two dies used during FSC.

The problem connected with this association is the coinage in FSC, where four moneyers are known from coins with the annulet and a fifth has had the annulet erased. The number of moneyers could perhaps be explained if the abbot did not have a moneyer employed permanently, one being assigned to the abbot when the need arose. More difficult to explain is the fact that the abbot would account for more than half (9 dies) of the entire coinage at Stamford during FSC. This is very high indeed compared to NSC, when only three dies are known (one of which is only known from its erased state), and First Hand (see below) when a single die is recorded. The only possible explaination would be to associate this increase with exceptional conditions connected with the construction works on the abbey.

Even if it is accepted that the annulet can be associated with a coinage of the abbot it should be noted that an annulet is also found during NSC and FSC at other mints. The unique

Horncastle penny from Edward [Æthelhelm, Berlin – ex Dannenberg], one of the two recorded coins of Tamworth during FSC [Mana – BM ex Chester] and the single coin of Worcester [FSC, Martin – KMK ex Risungs] all have this feature but no explanation can be offered for their significance at these mints.

In the succeeding type, Æthelred II First Hand, it is clear from a coin with a mint-signature that the coins were now struck at Peterborough itself [Dolley 1954A]. Annulets found on Stamford coins of the Long Cross and Small Cross types of Æthelred II could again be seen to indicate a transfer [van der Meer 1965, 71]. The last evidence from the Anglo-Saxon period is a coin of Cnut's Quatrefoil type struck at Peterborough [van der Meer 1965, 70], and it is evident that the coinage was sporadic.

The name was *Medeshamsted now* in Saxon times and *Burg* in Domesday Book [Ekwall 1980, 364]. The mint-signature begins MEÐ... on the sole surviving fragment from Æthelred II First Hand [Dolley 1954A].

Moneyers

Coins assumed to have been struck at Stamford for the abbot of Peterborough are denoted '*'.

					Edg			EdM	ÆII			
	Ats	Edm	Edr	Edw	I	III	RSC	NSC	FSC	FH	SH	BH
Ælfweald	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	*	*	–	–	–
Cnapa	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	*	–	–	–	–
Hild	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	*	1	–	–
Leofing	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	*	–	–	–
Wulfgar	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	*	*	–	–	–
Wulfstan	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	*	–	–	–

Rochester

General

Rochester was the second largest mint in Kent and the fourth mint in England to strike broad pennies. It was allowed three moneyers (two for the king and one for the bishop) in the Grateley codes c. 926–30, but only one moneyer is known during Athelstan.

The name was *Hrofescester* in Saxon times and *Rovecestre* in Domesday Book [Ekwall 1980, 390]. The mint-signature in the late Anglo-Saxon period was ROFECECEST (and abbreviations) and occasionally HROFE (and abbreviations) up to Æthelred II [Hd; Smart 1981, 103]. During the Reform issue HROF (3 dies), HROFE (1 die), RHOE (1 die), and ROFE (1 die) were used.

Moneyers

The surviving coins indicate that a maximum of three moneyers operated in the early post-reform period, although two would seem to be the normal number of moneyers. If the bishop was allowed to have one moneyer at this time the activity need not, however, have been continuous.

					Edg			EdM	ÆII			
	Ats	Edm	Edr	Edw	III	VIII	RSC	NSC	FSC	FH	SH	BH
Hungar	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Eadhelm	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	4	–	–
Siduman	–	–	–	–	–	–	7	2	–	2	–	–
Asfrith	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	5
Leofric	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	–
Siduwine	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	29	17	12
Total	–	–	–	–	–	–	7	3	–	35	26	17

Siduman could be identical with the moneyer striking at Chichester during RSC.

The name which is normalized as ON Asfrith may just as well be OE Osferth as ON names are rare at southern mints. The remaining names are all OE.

Dies

The dies were obtained from Winchester during RSC and from London and Winchester during NSC.

	Edgar		Edward		Æthelred II	
	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.
Eadhelm	–	–	1	1	–	–
Siduman	5	4.5	1	1.5	–	–
Total	5	4.5	2	2.5	0	0

Die-links

No die-link has been recorded between moneyers or with other mints.

Eadhelm	–	A 1 a	–					
Siduman	A 2 a	B 1 b	C 1 c	D 1 d	E 1 e	–	F 1 e	– F 1 f
	–							

Shaftesbury

General

There were four mints in Dorset, of which Bridport and Dorchester are minute mints and presently not known in the Reform issue although this may be due to coincidence. The other two, Shaftesbury and Wareham, are both known for the issue and are both small mints. Shaftesbury was entitled to two moneyers in the Grateley codes, which is also the number known during Athelstan's reign, when mint-signed coins are recorded for the first time.

The name was varied in Saxon times with *Sceafnesbirig, Sceaftenesbyrig, Sceaftesburi,* and *Sceftesburg,* while it was *Sceptesberie* in Domesday Book [Ekwall 1980, 413]. The mint-signature in the late Anglo-Saxon period was SCEFTESB (and abbreviations), but also SCEFTEN during Æthelred II Last Small Cross and exceptionally during Harthacnut [Hd; Smart 1981, 104]. The mint-signature was SCEAFT (1 die) and SCEF (3 dies) in the Reform issue.

Moneyers

There is unusual stability in the Reform issue as the moneyer Beorhtweald is the only moneyer known for the entire issue and he is also not known from any other mint. The number of moneyers increases significantly during the Hand issue.

					Edg			EdM	ÆII			
	Ats	Edm	Edr	Edw	Ib	III	RSC	NSC	FSC	FH	SH	BH
Æthelweald	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Æthelwine	x	(x)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Leofstan	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–
Beorhtweald	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	2	1	5	–	–
Æthelgar	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	4	–
Æthelmær	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–
Æthelstan	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	5	8	–
Æthelwig	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	–
God	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	–
Total	x	–	–	–	–	1	2	2	1	13	15	–

The names are all OE and display a remarkable series with prototheme Æthel-.

Dies

The dies were acquired from Winchester during RSC and NSC, but they are of local fabrication during FSC.

	Edgar		Edward		Æthelred II	
	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.
Beorhtweald	1	1	2	2	1	1

Die-links

No die-link has been recorded with other mints.

Beorhtweald	A	B	C	D
	1	1	1	1
	a	b	c	d

Shrewsbury

General

Bridgnorth has been suggested as a Shropshire mint in Æthelred II First Hand [Dolley 1955A], but this attribution is doubtful, and Shrewsbury is the only certain mint in the county. The mint is first recorded from mint-signed coins during Athelstan's reign.

The name was *Scrobbesbyrig* and *Scropesbyri* in Saxon times and *Sciropesberie* in Domesday Book [Ekwall 1980, 420]. The mint-signature in the late Anglo-Saxon period was usually SCROBES and SCROBR, but SROB is extremely common from Harold I onwards, while SEOB and SREOB were also used during Harold I onwards [Hd; Smart 1981, 104]. In the Reform issue SCRO (1 die), SCROB (4 dies), and SCROBE (1 die) were used.

Moneyers

The large number of moneyers from Athelstan's reign indicates a large coinage. There are also many coins without mint-signature from Edgar's pre-reform period which could have been struck at Shrewsbury. The area is apparently poorly covered in the Scandinavian hoards and the coinage may have been much larger than the figures for the early post-reform period would indicate. The sporadic activity of the mint is thus probably fictitious. Only one of the seven Reform pennies has a clear Scandinavian provenance (from the notable Sigsarve hoard, see section 4.6), and it is uncertain whether two pennies in the Copenhagen collection were found in Denmark.

					Edg				EdM	ÆII			
	Ats	Edm	Edr	Edw	IV	III	Ic	RSC	NSC	FSC	FH	SH	BH
Beorhthelm	x	(x)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Coenbeorht	x	(x)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Eadmund	x	(x)	(x)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Ecgheard	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Eoformund	x	(x)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Frodger	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Hubald	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Willaf	x	(x)	(x)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Æthelsige	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	–	–	–	–
Hildic	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	–	–	–	–	–
Sigeweald	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	–	–	–	–
Æfic	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	7	–	–
Leofhelm	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	4	–	–
Martin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2
Total	x	(x)	(x)	–	–	–	–	7	–	–	11	–	2

Edgar Ic also includes other varieties.

Two names are CG (Frodger and Hubald), one is Latin (Martin), while OE accounts for all the remainder.

Dies

All the dies were supplied from Winchester.

	Edgar		Edward		Æthelred II	
	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.
Æthelsige	1	2	–	–	–	–
Hildic	2	2	–	–	–	–
Sigeweald	2	2	–	–	–	–
Total	5	6	0	0	0	0

Die-links

No die-links have been recorded between moneyers or with other mints.

Æthelsige	A	–	A		
	1		1	–	–
	a		b		
Hildic	A		B		
	2		1	–	–
	a		b		
Sigeweald	A		B		
	1		1	–	–
	a		b		

Southampton

General

Besides Winchester Southampton was the only other mint in Hampshire. Coins were probably struck here in the early and mid eighth century.

The early urban centre was called Hamwic and located to the north of the later Saxon settlement called Hamtun. The coins may prove to be crucial for the time of transfer of location, and it is also possible that coins were struck at both settlements during a transitional period. The decisive question is how early it is possible to attribute coins with the mint-signature HAMTVN to Southampton.

The name was *Hamtun* in Anglo-Saxon times and *Hantune* in Domesday Book [Ekwall 1980, 431]. As the mint-signature HAMTVN was also used at Northampton in the late Anglo-Saxon period some confusion exists between the two mints. The mint-signature HAMWIC, however, was used exclusively at Southampton but then confined to the early part of Æthelred II [Smart 1981, 105]. The mint-signatures used in the Reform issue were HA (2 dies), HAMTV (2 dies), HAMTVN (1 die), HAW (1 die), HAWI (1 die), and HAWIC (1 die). The three latter dies are all used by Landbeorht, who is not known for coins with a HAMTVN mint-signature. One die has a blundered mint-signature or lack mint-signature.

Moneyers

The coin of the moneyer Eadgild in RSC, which here is attributed to Southampton, has a reverse legend that ends M‾OMETN. This could be a slightly blundered version of MONETA H, since the style is early Winchester, where the copulative is often rendered MONETA. The name of the moneyer is unusual and is only recorded at Canterbury (Athelstan) and Southampton (Athelstan and Edwig). A moneyer Eadgild is also known from coins without mint-signature during Edmund, and all these coins may well denote the same person. It is, however, unlikely that he could be the same as the moneyer known in RSC since he would then have had to be very old. He could be a relative, since it is not uncommon for the same name to reoccur at a mint after some time. This is the suggestion made here, but it must be emphasized that the association is speculative.

Besides the problem with the moneyer Eadgild, there is the confusion of the mint-signature HAM, which may denote either Northampton or Southampton. The moneyers that are known from the unequivocal mint-signature HAMWIC are Æthelweard, Isegl, and Landbeorht. For the remaining moneyers who are only known from HAM mint-signatures there is very little available evidence, since none are known from the Hand issue.

Of Wynstan there is the sole penny from Edward in the French Fecamp hoard, whereas the other two pennies of Edward are from Lympne (the pre-reform penny of Edgar must have been struck in Lincolnshire). It die-links with Lympne pennies of the moneyers Æthelstan [Hd 11, Jonsson 1987, b] and Leofwold [Robertson 1961, no. 746 (attributed to Lincoln), Jonsson 1987, a]. The die is of local style, and a die-link between Southampton and Lympne is more likely than one between Northampton and Lympne. The weight, even taking account of a chip, is very low (0.92 g) when compared with the weights of 1.43 g and 1.31 g for the two unequivocal coins of Landbeorht. However, the weights of the four coins of Edward from Chester provide examples of erratic weights, with two on the high side (1.60 g and 1.53 g) and two on the low side (1.19 g and 1.08 g). Basing an attribution to Northampton or Southampton on the basis of the weight may thus be a dangerous approach. Judging from the existing evidence an attribution to Southampton of the coin struck by the moneyer Wynstan must be preferable. Wynstan is OE, which would also point to Southampton.

The evidence for Eadnoth, known from two coins of Edgar and one of Edward, is even less. The style of the sole Edward penny appears to be Winchester. This and the OE name of the moneyer could be taken as circumstancial evidence in favour of Southampton, but both features are also acceptable at Northampton. The sole hoard provenance is Chester, but at the same time there are no (unimpeachable) Southampton coins of Edgar known from any other hoard. The weight of one chipped coin of Edgar is 1.16 g, with 1.09 g for the Edward coin, which would point to Norhampton, but here again the weights can be erratic. Even though Eadnoth is attributed to Southampton here, he may equally well be assigned to Northampton, based on the available evidence.

The survey of the moneyers that use a HAM mint-signature and the ambiguity of the evidence could of course also indicate that only the HAMWIC mint-signature was used at Southampton in this period. With regard to this problem, and although beyond the scope of the present study, a comparison with the moneyer Leofing, here attributed to Southampton and only known from Hand coins with a HAM mint-signature, is instructive of how possible approaches could be used.

Of the Northampton moneyers Bruninc and Leofsige in First Hand, only one, among the five coins known, has a Scandinavian provenance; this area seems in general (like e.g. the area round Gloucestershire) to be underrepresented in Scandinavian hoards. On the other hand two-thirds of Leofing's coins would seem to come from Scandinavian or West Slav hoards. About the same proportions apply to Æthelman [One additional coin not listed in Jonsson 1987 was included in the Glammunds hoard (G 151A)], Æthelweard, and Issegel. On this basis it would be logical for Leofing to work at Southampton, but there are so many exceptions to what would seem logical in the Anglo-Saxon coinage, that it is an argument that must be used with some reservation. The additional advantage, however, is that if Leofing is attributed to Southampton, then there were no Second Hand coins struck at Northampton. This again would be logical, although there is a single Benediction Hand penny known. It would also raise the number of surviving Second Hand coins at Southampton from one to four (compared with three Benediction Hand). This again looks preferable to the alternative with three Second Hand coins of the same moneyer at Northampton. That some southern mints were less active in Second Hand is, however, implied by the evidence from Wilton, where only one (or perhaps no) Second Hand penny is known.

The difficulties in attributing coins of this period with a mint-signature HAM to either of Northampton or Southampton have thus been made clear above, provided of course that the mint-signature was not confined to Northampton in this period.

Wynstan is the only name which is also found at another mint (Totnes) during the Reform issue, but a connection is uncertain.

The names are OE with the exception of two CG (Isegl and Mangod).

					Edg			EdM	ÆII			
	Ats	Edm	Edr	Edw	Ib	III	RSC	NSC	FSC	FH	SH	BH
Freothubeorht	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Mangod	–	–	–	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Eadgild	x	(x)	–	x	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–
Æthelweard	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	16	1	–
Eadnoth	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	1	–	–	–	–
Isegl	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	7	–	1
Landbeorht	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	2	–	–	–	–
Wynstan	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–
Æthelman	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	–
Eadstan	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2
Leofing	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	3	–
Total	x	(x)	–	x	–	–	4	4	2	34	4	3

Dies

During both RSC and NSC one die-pair is of odd local fabrication while the others were obtained from Winchester. London supplied the dies during FSC.

	Edgar		Edward		Æthelred II	
	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.
Æthelweard	–	–	–	–	1	1
Eadgild	1	1	–	–	–	–
Eadnoth	2	2	1	1	–	–
Isegl	–	–	–	–	1	1
Landbeorht	1	1	1	2	–	–
Wynstan	–	–	0.3	1	–	–
Total	4	4	2.3	4	2	2

Die-links

Wynstan (A) die-links with Æthelstan (E) as well as with Leofweald (A) at Lympne.

Æthelweard	–	–	A 1 a	
Eadgild	A 1 a	–	–	
Eadnoth	A 1 a	B 1 b	C 1 c	–
Isegl	–	–	A 1 a	
Landbeorht	A 1 a	B 1 b	– B 1 c	–
Wynstan	–	A 1 a	–	

Stafford

General

Aside from Tamworth, Stafford was the only mint in the county. It is first known from mint-signed coins during Athelstan's reign [See Blunt 1973 for a study of the Stafford mint during the period Athelstan to Edgar].

The name was *Stæfford* in Saxon times and *Stadford* in Domesday Book [Ekwall 1980, 435]. The mint-signature in the late Anglo-Saxon period was STÆÐ (and abbreviations) during Æthelred II, but STÆFORA (and abbreviations) from Agnus Dei onwards [Hd; Smart 1981, 105]. The mint-signature in the Reform issue was STÆFF (1 die), and STÆÐ (1 die).

Moneyers

Like many other (west) Mercian mints Stafford appears to be poorly represented in the Scandinavian hoards in the early post-reform period. Thus the coinage may well have been larger than the figures indicate.

					Edg				EdM	ÆII			
	Ats	Edm	Edr	Edw	IV	III	Ic	RSC	NSC	FSC	FH	SH	BH
Amundr	–	(x)	(x)	(x)	4	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Eardwulf	x	(x)	(x)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Wigmund	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Wihtmund	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Ælfsige	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–
Sigewulf	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	–	–	–	–
Total	x	(x)	(x)	(x)	4	–	–	3	–	–	–	–	–

Edgar Ic also includes other varieties. Although Ælfsige is also known at two southern mints during the Reform issue it is not likely that they are connected.

One name is ON (Amundr) and the remaining are OE.

Dies

The dies were acquired from Winchester, with the exception of one reverse die of odd local fabrication.

	Edgar		Edward		Æthelred II	
	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.
Ælfsige	1	1	–	–	–	–
Sigewulf	1	1	–	–	–	–
Total	2	2	0	0	0	0

Die-links

There are no die-links between moneyers or with other mints.

Ælfsige	A 1 a	–	–
Sigewulf	A 2 a	–	–

Stamford

General

Stamford was a major mint and in the county it was second only to Lincoln. It was recaptured from the Vikings in 918, and a second borough was founded [Stafford 1985, 113]. Stamford is not known from mint-signed coins before the Reform issue, but the mint had no doubt started to operate much earlier.

The name was *Stanford* and *Steanford* in Saxon times and *Stanford* in Domesday Book [Ekwall 1980, 436]. The mint-signature in the late Anglo-Saxon period was STANFORD (and abbreviations), but STEANFO (and abbreviations) is common during Æthelred II First Hand [Hd; Smart 1981, 106]. During the Reform issue the mint-signature was rendered as follow: SANDE (1 die), SANEORD (1 die), STA (1 die), STAM (1 die), STAN (7 dies), STANF (25 dies), STANFO (18 dies), STANFOR (7 dies), STANFORD (8 dies), STANIEO (1 die), STANOR (1 die). The partly blundered versions are connected with dies of the Lincoln style, and there are also two dies without mint-signature.

					Edg			EdM	ÆII			
	Ats	Edm	Edr	Edw	I	III	RSC	NSC	FSC	FH	SH	BH
Ælfweald	–	–	–	–	2	–	2	15	3	9	3	–
Æscman	–	–	–	–	(4)	–	9	12	–	–	–	–
Boga	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	9	1	8	2	–
Cnapa	–	–	–	–	9	–	3	17	–	–	–	–
Grimr	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	1	5	1	–
Hild	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	14	1	–	–	–
Ioli	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–
Leofing	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	2	5	–	–
Manna	–	–	–	(x)	(70)	–	1	2	–	–	–	–
Oio	–	–	–	–	–	–	6	8	2	–	–	–
Riculf	–	–	–	–	3	–	1	–	–	–	–	–
Wacer	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	4	–	–	–	–
Wine	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–
Wulfgar	–	–	–	–	–	–	14	15	5	8	1	–
Wulfstan	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	5	2	12	2	–
Ælfgar	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1
Ælfwig?	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1
Æthelweard	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	–
Godwine	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	5	2	–
Leofdæg	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	4	–	–
Total	–	–	–	(x)	15+	–	36	108	17	56	14	2

Moneyers

The pre-reform conditions are difficult to assess at Stamford because of the lack of mint-signed coins. The figures given for Manna, some of which may have been struck elsewhere as well, are, however, an indication of the potential size of the coinage.

The name ‘Oia’ has been associated with Boga [Jonsson 1987, c], but should be given to Oio [Information from V. Smart].

Several of the moneyers have names that are also found at other mints during the Reform issue and possible connections concern: Æscman and Leofing at Lincoln; Grimr at Bedford, Derby, and Lincoln; Manna at Leicester.

Of a total of twenty moneyers only two each have ON (Grimr and Ioli) and CG (Oio and Riculf) names. The proportion of ON names is thus much lower than at neighbouring mints.

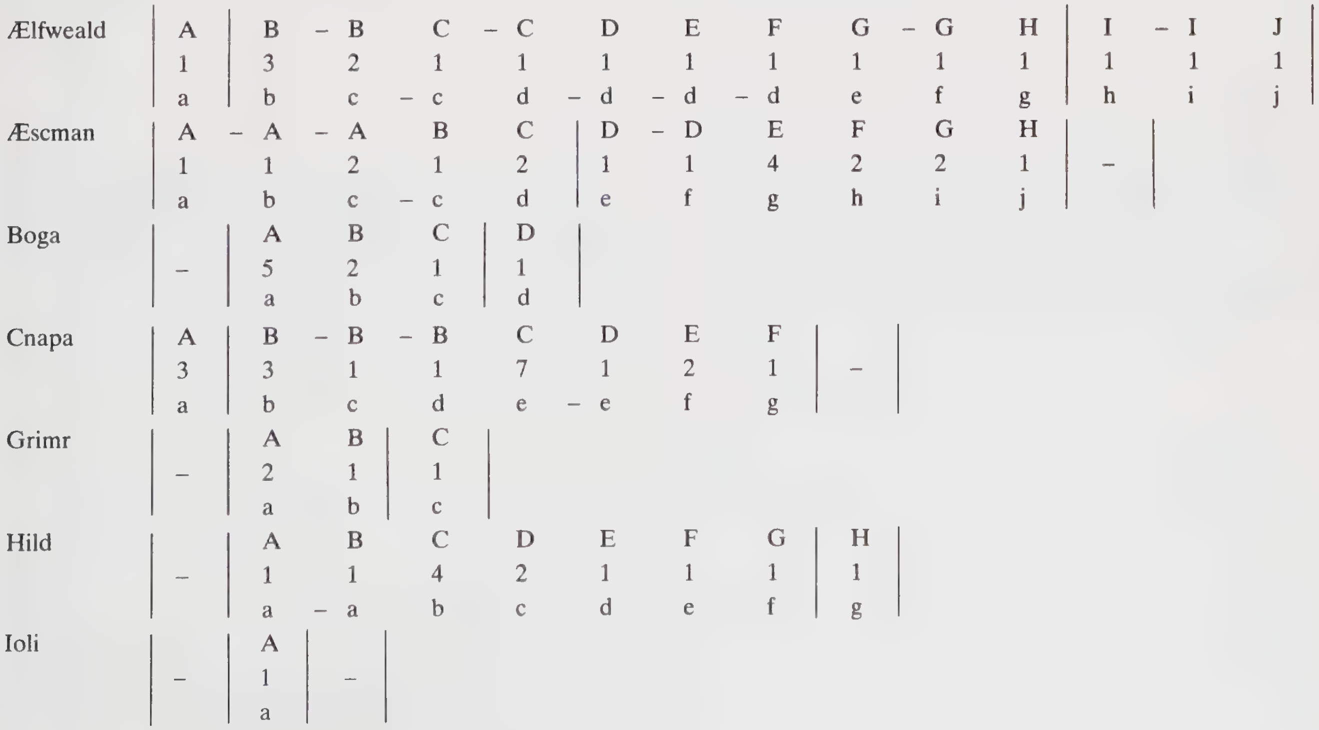
	Edgar		Edward		Æthelred II	
	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.
Ælfweald	1	1	7	6	2	3
Æscman	3	4	5	6	–	–
Boga	–	–	3	3	1	1
Cnapa	1	1	4.5	6	–	–
Grimr	–	–	2	2	1	1
Hild	–	–	6	6	1	1
Ioli	–	–	1	1	–	–
Leofing	–	–	0.5	1	2	2
Manna	1	1	1	1	–	–
Oio	1	3	2	2	2	2
Riculf	1	1	–	–	–	–
Wacer	–	–	2	3	–	–
Wine	–	–	1	1	–	–
Wulfgar	4	6	5	4.5	3	2.5
Wulfstan	–	–	2	1	2	2
Total	12	17	42	43.5	14	14.5

Dies

During RSC two dies were supplied from Norwich and the remainder from Winchester. The supply came from various sources during NSC: Winchester (2), Lincoln (4), London (15), and local (Stamford style – 19, odd local styles – 2). During FSC there were three suppliers: London (2 dies), Lincoln (3), and local (Stamford style – 9).

Die-links

There are no die-links with other mints, but die-links between moneyers involve Cnapa (D) and Hild (C) as well as Hild (G) and Leofing (A).



Ælfweald
A | B – B C – C D E F G – G H | I – I J
1 | 3 2 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 1 | 1 1 1
a | b c – c d – d – d – d e f g | h i j
Æscman
A – A – A B C | D – D E F G H | – |
1 1 2 1 2 | 1 1 4 2 2 1
a b c – c d | e f g h i j
Boga
– | A B C | D |
5 2 1 | 1
a b c | d
Cnapa
A | B – B – B C D E F | – |
3 | 3 1 1 7 1 2 1
a | b c d e – e f g
Grimr
– | A B | C |
2 1 | 1
a b | c
Hild
– | A B C D E F G | H |
1 1 4 2 1 1 1 | 1
a – a b c d e f | g
Ioli
– | A | – |
1
a

Leofing	│		│	A	│	B	C	│
	│	–	│	2	│	1	1	│
	│		│	a	│	b	c	│

Manna	│	A	│	B	│		│
	│	1	│	1	│	–	│
	│	a	│	b	│		│

Oio	│	A	–	A	–	A	│	B	C	│	D	E	│
	│	2		2		1	│	5	1	│	1	1	│
	│	a		b		c	│	d	e	│	f	g	│

Riculf	│	A	│		│		│
	│	1	│	–	│	–	│
	│	a	│		│		│

Wacer	│		│	A	–	A	B	│		│
	│	–	│	1		1	2	│	–	│
	│		│	a		b	c	│		│

Wine	│		│	A	│		│
	│	–	│	1	│	–	│
	│		│	a	│		│

Wulfgar	│	A	–	A	–	A	B	C	D	│	E	F	G	H	I	│		J	K	L	│
	│	2		2		2	3	1	1	│	6	2	1	1	3	│		3	1	1	│
	│	a		b		c	d	e	f	│	g	h	i	j	k		–	k	l	m	│

Wulfstan	│		│	A		B	│	C	D	│
	│	–	│	4		1	│	1	1	│
	│		│	a	–	a	│	b	c	│

Tamworth

General

The former capitol of Mercia was one of two mints in the county. It was fortified by Æthelflœd in 913, and it is first recorded on mint-signed coins during Athelstan's reign.

The name was *Tameworwig* in Saxon times and *Tamuuorde* in Domesday Book [Ekwall 1980, 459]. The mint-signature in the late Anglo-Saxon period was varied with forms as TAMWEORÐ, TAMWERI, TAMWO, and TOMWYRD (and abbreviations) [Hd; Smart 1981, 106]. In the Reform issue it was T[AMW]E (1 die), TAMWO (2 dies), TAMWORD (1 die), TAMWORI (1 die), and TAMWORÐ (1 die)

Moneyers

A possible indication that the surviving coins are not representative of the coinage is the fact that RSC is lacking and that Benediction Hand is as common as First and Second Hand combined.

					Edg					EdM	ÆII			
	Ats	Edm	Edr	Edw	IV	III	Id	II	RSC	NSC	FSC	FH	SH	BH
Eoformund	–	–	–	–	6	3	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Eoforwulf	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	–	–	–	–	–	–
Spereman	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Deorwulf	–	–	–	(x)	11	2	2	3	–	5	–	–	–	–
Leofwine	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	–	1	–	–	–
Manna	x	(x)	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	3	1	–	–	–
Leofric	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2
Wine	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	–
Total	x	(x)	–	x	18	5	2	10	–	8	2	1	1	2

Edgar Id also includes Ic. The possible associations with moneyers of the same name at other mints are uncertain and concern Leofwine at Northampton and Manna at Stamford.

The names of the moneyers are exclusively OE in origin.

Dies

London supplied only one pair of dies while Stamford accounts for two and local fabrication one during NSC. The latter provided all dies during FSC.

	Edgar		Edward		Æthelred II	
	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.
Deorwulf	–	–	2	2	–	–
Leofwine	–	–	–	–	1	1
Manna	–	–	3	2	1	1
Total	0	0	5	4	2	2

Die-links

No die-links have been recorded between moneyers or with other mints.

Deorwulf	–	A B 2 2 a b	–
Leofwine	–	–	A 1 a
Manna	–	A B C 1 1 1 a – a b	D 1 c

Thetford

General

Thetford was one of the two mints in Norfolk and the largest in East Anglia during the post-reform period. It was reconquered from the Vikings in 917 and the mint was set up in connection with the reform or shortly before.

The name was *Theodford* and *Theotford* in Saxon times and *Tedfort* in Domesday Book [Ekwall 1980, 465]. The mint-signature in the late Anglo-Saxon period was ÐEODFORD and ÐEOTFORD (and abbreviations), but ÐIODFOD (and abbreviations) was used early and late [Smart 1981, 107]. In the Reform issue ÐEOTF (3 dies) was used during RSC and NSC, while ÐIO (2 dies) and ÐIOT (1 die) was used during NSC and FSC.

Moneyers

The attribution to Thetford of the coins of Æthelferth is uncertain. The activity of the moneyers is otherwise very stable.

The name which is normalized as ON Asfrith may denote OE Osferth as well, in which case all moneyers would have OE names.

					Edg		EdM	ÆII			
	Ats	Edm	Edr	Edw	V	RSC	NSC	FSC	FH	SH	BH
Æthelferth	–	–	–	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	–
Ælfgar	–	–	–	–	–	10	1	–	–	–	–
Sperling	–	–	–	–	–	–	4	1	18	8	4
Asfrith	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	16	2	1
Eadgar	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	16	7	3
Total	–	–	–	–	2	10	5	1	50	17	8

Dies

Winchester was the dominant supplier followed by Norwich during RSC. London supplied all the dies during both NSC and FSC.

	Edgar		Edward		Æthelred II	
	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.
Ælfgar	3	2	0.5	1	–	–
Sperling	–	–	1.5	2	1	1
Total	3	2	2	3	1	1

Die-links

There is a die-link between Ælfgar (D) and Sperling (A), but none with other mints.

Ælfgar	A		B	C	D	
	2		1	5	1	–
	a	–	a	b	c	
Sperling			A	B	C	
	–		3	1	1	
			a	b	c	

Torksey

General

Torksey was one of the five minor mints in Lincolnshire that were set during the Reform issue and the First hand type. Torksey ceased to strike coins during Cnut.

The name was *Turcesig* and *Turecesieg* in Saxon times and *Torchesey* in Domesday Book [Ekwall 1980, 477]. The mint-signature was TORC and TVRCE (and abbreviations) in the late Anglo-Saxon period [Hd; Smart 1981, 107]. The mint-signature on the die used in NSC was TOR, while no mint-signature is given on the die from FSC.

Moneyer

The surviving coins indicate a modest but continuous activety during the early post-reform period.

					Edg			EdM	ÆII			
	Ats	Edm	Edr	Edw	I	III	RSC	NSC	FSC	FH	SH	BH
Thorketill	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	1	1	1

The name Thorketill is of ON origin.

Dies

Dies were obtained from Lincoln during FSC, while the style of the surviving cut halfpenny from NSC cannot be determined.

	Edgar		Edward		Æthelred II	
	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.
Thorketill	–	–	1	1	1	1

Die-links

No die-links have been recorded with other mints.

Thorketill		A	B
	–	1	1
		a	b

Totnes

General

Totnes was the second largest mint in Devonshire. It was first recorded on mint-signed coins in Edwig Circumscription Cross.

The name was *Tottaness* in Saxon times and *Totenais* in Domesday Book [Ekwall 1980, 478]. The mint-signature in the late Anglo-Saxon period was TOTANÆS (and abbreviations), but TOTNES and TOTTANÆS (and abbreviations) are also found occasionally [Smart 1981, 107]. The mint-signature in the Reform issue was TOTTA on the only known specimen.

Moneyers

The coinage was apparently small until there was a boom during the Hand issue as at the other mints in Devon.

	Ats	Edm	Edr	Edw	Edg III	RSC	EdM NSC	ÆII FSC	FH	SH	BH
Wynstan	–	–	–	x	2	1	–	–	–	–	–
Manna	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	35	13	–
Dodda	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	15	4	–
Hunwine	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	9	–
Wulfgar	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–
Total	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	1	51	27	–

Possible connections exist with other mints: Manna at Winchester and Wynstan at Southampton.

The names of the moneyers are all OE.

Dies

The coin from RSC was not available for study, while the dies for FSC were supplied from London.

	Edgar		Edward		Æthelred II	
	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.
Manna	–	–	–	–	1	1
Wynstan	1	1	–	–	–	–
Total	1	1	0	0	1	1

Die-links

There are no die-links between moneyers or with other mints.

Manna	–	–	A 1 a
Wynstan	A 1 a	–	–

Wallingford

General

Wallingford was for a long time the sole mint in the county, as Reading only struck coins of two types during Edward the Confessor's reign. Wallingford is first noted on mint-signed coins during the reign of Athelstan.

The name was *Wœlingford, Wealingaford, Welengaford,* and *Welingaford* in Saxon times and *Walingeford* in Domesday Book [Ekwall 1980, 493]. The mint-signature in the late Anglo-Saxon period was WELIGAFORD and WELINGA (and abbreviations), which are replaced by WALINGE (and abbreviations) during Edward the Confessor Expanding Cross, while WEALING (and abbreviations) was used occasionally [Hd; Smart 1981, 108]. In the Reform issue the single known die uses WELIN.

Moneyers

The figures for the surviving coins indicate a quota of three moneyers for the period concerned, but they might underestimate the true numbers since the area is not too well covered in the hoards.

	Ats	Edm	Edr	Edw	Edg Ib	III	RSC	EdM NSC	ÆII FSC	FH	SH	BH
Æthelmund	x	(x)	(x)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Beornweald	x	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Eadwine	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	–
Heremod	–	(x)	(x)	(x)	–	4	–	–	–	–	–	–
Beorhtric	–	–	–	–	(1)	1	–	–	–	2	1	–
Wulfstan	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–
Ælfric	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	1
Sigewulf	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	3
Total	x	x	(x)	(x)	+	7	1	–	–	4	1	4

The only possible connection with a moneyer of the same name at another mint concerns Wulfstan at Winchester.

All moneyers have OE names.

Dies

The dies were acquired from Winchester.

	Edgar		Edward		Æthelred II	
	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.
Wulfstan	1	1	–	–	–	–

Die-links

No die-links have been recorded with other mints.

Wulfstan	A 1 a	–	–

Wareham

General

Wareham was one of four mints in Dorset, and entitled to two moneyers in the Grateley codes. Two moneyers are also known during Athelstan's reign when mint-signed coins are found for the first time.

The name was *Wærham* and *Werham* in Saxon times and *Warham* in Domesday Book [Ekwall 1980, 497]. The mint-signature was WERHAM (and abbreviations) in the late Anglo-Saxon period [Smart 1981, 108]. The one known die in the Reform issue uses WER.

Moneyers

The activity could seem sporadic but the same moneyer is known for both RSC and the Second Hand type.

Dies

The dies were supplied from Winchester.

	Edgar		Edward		Æthelred II	
	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.
Beorhtric	1	1	–	–	–	–

Die-links

No die-links are known with other mints.

Beorhtric	A 2 a	–	–

					Edg			EdM	ÆII			
	Ats	Edm	Edr	Edw	Ib	III	RSC	NSC	FSC	FH	SH	BH
Ælfræd	x	(x)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Wulfsige	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Beorhtric	–	–	–	–	(1)	–	2	–	–	–	7	–
Beorhtsige	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	5	4	–
Wulfric	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	4	–	–
Total	x	(x)	–	–	+	–	2	–	–	9	11	–

The connection with Beorthric at Lympne during the Reform issue is uncertain.

The names of all moneyers are OE.

Warwick

General

Warwickshire was a one-mint county. Mint-signed coins are first known from Athelstan's reign.

The name was *Wærincwic* in Saxon times and *Warwic* in Domesday Book [Ekwall 1980, 499]. The mint-signature in the late Anglo-Saxon period was WÆRINCWIC and WÆRINWIC (and abbreviations), while WARI (and abbreviations) was used exceptionally [Smart 1981, 108]. In the Reform issue WÆRINC (1 die), and WERIN (1 die) were used.

Moneyers

The only coin known of Edgar in the pre-reform period is a fragment where only the first letter of the name of the moneyer is visible. Theoretically, it could hence also denote Osmœr but that is less likely, as the figures indicate that Warwick was a one-moneyer mint throughout the period under survey here.

Dies

Dies were supplied from Winchester during RSC and from Stamford during NSC.

	Edgar		Edward		Æthelred II	
	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.
Osmær	–	–	1	1	–	–
Osweard	1	1	–	–	–	–
Total	1	1	1	1	0	0

Die-links

There are no die-links between the moneyers or with other mints.

Osmær	–	A 1 a	–
Osweard	A 1 a	–	–

					Edg				EdM	ÆII			
	Ats	Edm	Edr	Edw	IV	III	Ic	RSC	NSC	FSC	FH	SH	BH
Manthegn	x	(x)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Osweard	–	–	–	–	–	1	5	2	–	–	–	–	–
Osmær	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	3	–	–
Total	x	(x)	–	–	–	1	5	2	1	–	3	–	–

Edgar Ic also include other varieties.

All three moneyers have OE names.

'Weardbvrh'

General

Coins with the mint-signature 'WEARDBV' were struck during the reign of Athelstan, and with 'WRDBREI' and 'VRDBY' are known from Edgar's pre-reform period. They have been associated with the 'Weardburh' that Æthelflœd built in 915, the location of which is still not solved. Provided that the coins of Edgar denote this borough, an association with Warborough in Oxfordshire based on Edgar's coins has the greatest appeal, while the west Midlands is preferable, based on the evidence of the known coins from Athelstan [Blunt 1974, 103-4].

Moneyers

No coins are known from the Reform issue, but since coins were struck there shortly before the reform it is possible that the mint continued to operate then.

					Edg			EdM	ÆII			
	Ats	Edm	Edr	Edw	Ib	III	RSC	NSC	FSC	FH	SH	BH
Ælfstan	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–
Æthelferth	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–
Beorhthelm	x	(x)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Total	x	(x)	–	–	–	2	–	–	–	–	–	–

Only OE names are represented among the moneyers.

Wilton

General

Wilton was the leading mint among the six that operated in Wiltshire in Anglo-Saxon times. Mint-signed coins are first known from Edgar's pre-reform period.

The name was *Wiltun* in Saxon times and *Wiltune* in Domesday Book [Ekwall 1980, 521]. The mint-signature was WILTVNE (and abbreviations) in the late Anglo-Saxon period [Smart 1981, 109]. In the Reform issue the mint-signature was WI? (1 die), WIL (1 die), WILT (2 dies), WILTV (3 dies), WILTVN (4 dies), blundered (1 die).

Moneyers

A quota of five moneyers is implied from the figures below and the employments of the moneyers are unusually stable. The minute figure for Second Hand (if indeed struck at Wilton at all – see Jonsson 1987, a) is a puzzle.

The moneyer Ælfsige could be identical with the moneyers of the same name at Winchester, while the association with Leofweald at Lympne is uncertain and with Boga at Canterbury is very unlikely.

One of the names is CG (Osbern) while the remainder are all OE in origin.

Dies

The dies were obtained from Winchester during RSC and NSC. London and local fabrication supplied the dies during FSC.

	Edgar		Edward		Æthelred II	
	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.
Ælfsige	1	1	–	–	–	–
Boga	1	1	1	1	1	1
Eadwine	1	2	1	1	1	1
Leofweald	2	3	–	–	–	–
Osbern	1	1	–	–	–	–
Total	6	8	2	2	2	2

Die-links

There are no die-links between moneyers or with other mints.

Ælfsige	A 1 a	–	–
Boga	A 1 a	B 1 b	C 1 c

					Edg			EdM	ÆII			
	Ats	Edm	Edr	Edw	Ib	III	RSC	NSC	FSC	FH	SH	BH
Eadstan	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–
Leofsige	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–
Boga	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	1	1	3	–	1
Leofweald	–	–	–	–	–	1	4	–	–	4	–	–
Osbern	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	–	–	3	–	–
Ælfsige	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–
Eadwine	–	–	–	–	–	–	4	3	1	3	–	–
Sæwine	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	4	1	2
Total	–	–	–	–	–	5	11	4	2	17	1	3

Eadwine	A – A 2 2 a b	B 3 c	C 1 d	
Leofweald	A – A B 2 1 1 a b c	–	–	
Osbern	A 1 a	–	–	

Winchcombe

General

Winchcombe was one of the smaller mints in Gloucestershire. Winchcombe had constituted a county of its own, which, however, ceased to exist some time before 1086 (Domesday Book) [Hill 1984, 178]. The mint was probably set up in connection with the reform.

The name was *Wincelcumbe* in Saxon times and the same in Domesday Book [Ekwall 1980, 522]. The mint-signature in the late Anglo-Saxon period was WINCELE and WINCL (and abbreviations) and exceptionally WICEL (and abbreviations). The single die in the Reform issue has the anomalous spelling WENCLES, which philologists have attributed to Winchelsea in Sussex [Gelling 1972, 114].

Moneyers

The minute figures for the surviving coins indicate that the coinage was probably sporadic.

					Edg				EdM	ÆII			
	Ats	Edm	Edr	Edw	IV	III	Ic	RSC	NSC	FSC	FH	SH	BH
Ælfnoth	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	–	–	–	–

The origin of the name of the moneyer Ælfnoth is OE.

Dies

The dies were obtained from Winchester.

	Edgar		Edward		Æthelred II	
	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.
Ælfnoth	1	1	–	–	–	–

Die-links

No die-links have been recorded with other mints.

Ælfnoth	A 2 a	–	–

Winchester

General

As the former capitol of Wessex, Winchester retained a leading position even in later times and it was usually one of the four leading mints in the realm. Its name appears on coins for the first time during the reign of Alfred (871-99). The Grateley code allocated six moneyers to Winchester.

Alfred's refoundation of Winchester in the 880s transformed the formerly royal and ecclesiastical community into a town, which was the largest borough in Wessex. The town expanded rapidly in the tenth century and suburbs grew up outside the town walls [Biddle 1976 A, 450-5].

The name was *Wintanceaster* and *Wintonia* in Saxon times [Ekwall 1980, 522]. The mint-signature in the late Anglo-Saxon period was WINTONI (and abbreviations) up to Æthelred II Crux and WINTCESTER (and abbreviations) until Æthelred II Last Small Cross when there was a change to WINCESTRE (and abbreviations) [Hd; Smart 1980, 110]. In the Reform issue the mint-signature was WIN (5 dies), WINC (1 die), WINT (17 dies), WINTA (1 die), WINTAO (1 die), WINTNI (4 dies), WINTO (5 dies), and WINTONI (1 die). The form WINC is carelessly executed so that it more resembles WAC; it is only found in FSC.

Moneyers

The surviving coins probably do not do justice to the size of the coinage, although the reduced importance of the mint at the end of the Reform issue is also indicated by the fact that London had then taken over the position as the national die-cutting centre.

					Edg			EdM	ÆII			
	Ats	Edm	Edr	Edw	Ib	III	RSC	NSC	FSC	FH	SH	BH
Æthelhelm	x	(x)	(x)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Æthelwulf	x	(x)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Amalric	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Leofric	x	(x)	(x)	(x)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Otic	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Wulfheard	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Deall	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–
Rodbert	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–
Wulfsige	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–
Wynsige	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–
Ælfsige	–	–	–	–	–	1	7	–	–	16	6	3
Æthelstan	–	–	–	–	–	2	1	–	–	14	4	1
Eadstan	x	–	–	–	–	2	3	2	–	–	–	–
Freothumund	–	–	–	–	–	1	2	2	–	12	–	–
Regenulf	x	–	–	–	–	–	2	2	1	10	–	–
Wihtsige	–	–	–	–	–	1	4	5	–	–	–	–
Beornhelm	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–
Mægenræd	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	2	–	–	–	–
Manna	–	–	–	–	–	–	4	–	–	–	–	–
Marscalc	–	–	–	–	–	–	4	–	–	–	–	–
Regenold	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	–	–	–	–	–
Wulfstan	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	9	–	–
Æthelweard	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	–
Beorhtmær	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	7	3
Beorhtnoth	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	23	14	9
Beorhtræd	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	7	10	2
Beorhtsige	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	4	6	4
Eadsige	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	16	8	–
Ingalric	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	22	–	–
Leofweald	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	5	4	–
Oswulf	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–
Toki	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	8	8	–
Total	x	(x)	(x)	(x)	–	11	32	16	1	145	70	22

The names of many of the moneyers are also found at other mints during the Reform issue, but possible associations are probably limited to a few: Ælfsige at Wilton, Manna at Totnes, and Wulfstan at Wallingford.

The CG element among the moneyers name is strong, with six entries (Amalric, Ingalric, Marscalc, Regenold, Regenulf, and Rodbert), while the ON element is confined to one (Toki), with OE very dominant with twenty-five names.

Dies

All the dies used during the Reform issue were of local fabrication. Only one die each during RSC, NSC, and FSC were of various odd local styles, while the remainder were of the national Winchester style.

	Edgar		Edward		Æthelred II	
	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.
Ælfsige	7	6	–	–	–	–
Æthelstan	1	1	–	–	–	–
Beornhelm	–	–	1	1	–	–
Eadstan	3	3	2	2	–	–
Freothumund	2	2	1	1	–	–
Mægenræd	3	3	1	1	–	–
Manna	2	2	–	–	–	–
Marscalc	1	3	–	–	–	–
Regenold	2	2	–	–	–	–
Regenulf	2	2	1	1	1	1
Wihtsige	3	2	4	3	–	–
Wulfstan	–	–	1	1	–	–
Total	26	26	11	10	1	1

Die-links

No die-links have been recorded between moneyers or with other mints.

```
Ælfsige     | A     B   C   D   E   F
            | 2     1   1   1   1   1
            | a  –  a   b   c   d   e
              G | – | – |
              1 |   |   |
              f |   |   |

Æthelstan   | A | – | – |
            | 1 |   |   |
            | a |   |   |

Beornhelm   |   | A |   |
            | – | 1 | – |
            |   | a |   |

Eadstan     | A   B   C | D   E |   |
            | 1   1   1 | 1   1 | – |
            | a   b   c | d   e |   |

Freotumund  | A   B | C |   |
            | 1   1 | 2 | – |
            | a   b | c |   |

Mægenræd    | A   B   C | D |   |
            | 1   1   1 | 2 | – |
            | a   b   c | d |   |

Manna       | A   B |   |   |
            | 2   1 | – | – |
            | a   b |   |   |

Marscalc    | A – A – A |   |   |
            | 2   1   1 | – | – |
            | a   b   c |   |   |

Regenold    | A   B |   |   |
            | 2   1 | – | – |
            | a   b |   |   |

Regenulf    | A   B | C | D |
            | 1   1 | 2 | 1 |
            | a   b | c | d |

Wihtsige    | A     B   C | D     E   F
            | 1     1   1 | 2     1   1
            | a  –  a   b | c  –  c   d
              G | – |
              1 |   |
              e |   |

Wulfstan    |   | A |   |
            | – | 1 | – |
            |   | a |   |
```

Worcester

General

Worcester was the only mint in the county until one type was struck on a minute scale at Pershore during the reign of Edward the Confessor. Based on the mint-signed coins the opening of the mint was connected with the Reform issue, but it could well have occurred earlier, not least because Worcester was the seat of the bishopric. The bishop in this period was Oswald, one of the leaders of the monastic revivial and also archbishop of York. Oswald was also granted the triple hundred of Oswaldslow by Edgar, so a mint may well have been called for before the reform. There are also pre-reform coins of Edgar without mint-signature which could well have been struck there.

The name was *Wigraceaster* in Saxon times and *Wirecestre* in Domesday Book [Ekwall 1980, 534]. The mint-signature in the late Anglo-Saxon period was WIGERAC up to Æthelred II Benediction Hand and later usually WIHRAC, with WIHREC and WIHRIC during Edward the Confessor [Smart 1981, 110]. The only mint-signature recorded during the Reform issue is WIHRAN.

Moneyers

There is little continuity among the moneyers during the early post-reform period, but it should be remembered that the area is less well covered in the hoards.

					Edg				EdM	ÆII			
	Ats	Edm	Edr	Ew	IV	III	Ic	RSC	NSC	FSC	FH	SH	BH
Martin	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	5	–	–
Durand	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2
Manna	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	–	–
Total	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	8	–	2

The names of the moneyers have a diverse origin, with one each of OE (Manna), OF (Durand), and Latin (Martin).

Dies

The dies were obtained from London.

	Edgar		Edward		Æthelred II	
	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.
Martin	–	–	–	–	1	1

Die-links

No die-links have been recorded with other mints.

Martin	–	–	A 1 a

York

General

York was the old capital of Northumbria and the sole mint in the far north. It usually ranked second only to London during the late Anglo-Saxon coinage. Coins were struck there intermittently, starting in the mid seventh century, and almost continuously from c. 895 onwards. York was in Viking hands during several periods in the first half of the tenth century, but it was finally incorporated in 954 during the reign of Edred.

The name was *Eferwic* and *Eoferwicceaster* in Saxon times and *Euruic* in Domesday Book [Ekwall 1980, 545]. The mint-signature in the late Anglo-Saxon period was usually EFERWIC (and abbreviations) up to Æthelred II First Hand, but later it was EOFERWIC and EOFRWIC (and abbreviations), with EFER and EFOR exceptionally [Smart 1981, 111]. The following mint-signatures occur during the Reform issue: E (4 dies), EEORWIC (1 die), EF (1 die), EFE (6 dies), EFER (24 dies), EFERIC (1 die), EFERV (1 die), EFERVVIC (1 die), EFERW (4 dies), EFERWC (2 dies), EFERWIC (4 dies), EFERWICA (1 die), EFERWICE (2 dies), EFERWIW (1 die), EFO (1 die), EFORWI (1 die), EFORWIC (1 die), EOFOR (7 dies), EOFORWI (1 die), EOFORWIC (3 dies), FCERND (1 die). There is also one die without mint-signature.

Moneyers

The organization of the mint at York goes from one extreme to another in connection with the reform. In the pre-reform period of Edgar there were probably not more than three moneyers responsible for the entire coinage until shortly before the reform. In the Reform and Hand issues, however, the number of known moneyers is exceptionally high. This is probably due to the special conditions at York, since it was required to supply the entire northern region with coins. Especially in connection with the recoinage it must have been impossible for only a few moneyers to take charge of the numerous exchanges that would be required at local markets etc. At the same time there are no moneyers who struck considerably more coins than any others. In general though, the moneyers who are most prolific are also active during successive types. There are also numerous single-type moneyers at York, and since so many are known from just a single specimen it is obvious that still more must have existed.

					Edg				EdM	ÆII			
	Ats	Edm	Edr	Edw	I	III	Ia	RSC	NSC	FSC	FH	SH	BH
Adalbert	(x)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Æscwulf	–	–	–	(x)	18	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Æthelferth	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Durand	–	–	–	–	28	23	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Etram	(x)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Frodger	(x)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Hereger	–	–	(x)	(x)	190	2?	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Ingalgar	–	(x)	(x)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Ragnaldr	x	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Sumarlithr	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–	–
Wulfsige	(x)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Ælfstan	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	9	1	4	–	–
Fastulfr	–	–	–	–	–	78	–	5	1	2	3	–	–
Fastulfr Boga	–	–	–	–	–	4	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Fastulfr Hrafn	–	–	–	–	–	3	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Fastulfr Oda	–	–	–	–	–	5	–	–	–	–	–	–	–
Herewulf	–	–	–	–	–	37	1	–	–	–	2	–	–
Kolgrimr	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	2	2	10	–	–
Serkrlauss	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	4	1	–	–	–
Thorsteinn	(x)	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	11	–	–
Æthelweald	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	–	–	–
Asketill	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	3	–	–
Asulfr	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	–	2	–	–
Beolan	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	8	2	7	–	–
Branting	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–
Cellach	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	1	–	–
Dun	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	2	–	–	–	–
Farman	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	12	–	–
Gunnulfr	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	1	–	–	–	–
Iohan	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–
Iosteinn	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–
Isulfr	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	4	1	1	2	–	–
Manna	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	–	5	–	–	–
Oda	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	5	3	6	15	–	–
Osmund	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	5	–	–	–	–	–
Regenbald	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–
Siduman	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–	–	–
Styr	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	1	1	–	–
Styrkarr	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	1	–	–
Sunnulfr	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	5	–	–
Svertingr	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–
Tuma	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	2	6	–	–
Uri	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–	–
Uspakr	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	–	–	–	–	–
Wineman	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	3	–	–
Wulfric	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	–	–	–	–
Arnthorr	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–

Authgrimr	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–
Eadstan	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–
Eilafr	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	7	–	–
Frostulfr	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	6	–	–
Golla	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–
Hundulfr	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	3	–	–
Hwætman	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–
Oban	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	5	–	–
Osbern	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–
Scadwine	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–
Skaning	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–
Snækollr	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–
Svartkollr	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	–
Thorketill	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–	–
Thormothr	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	1	–
Ulfr	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	–
Wulfstan	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	–	2	–	–
Total	x	(x)	(x)	(x)	236	144+	5	39	39	34	124	2	–

The origin of the names of the moneyers is dominated by ON, with twenty-nine entries, followed by OE with eighteen (Ælfstan, Æscwulf, Æthelferth, Æthelweald, Branting, Dun, Eadstan, Herewulf, Hwœtman, Manna, Oda, Osmund, Siduman, Tuma, Wineman, Wulfric, Wulfsige, and Wulfstan), CG with seven (Adalbert, Etram, Froteger, Hereger, Ingalgar, Osbern, and Regenbald), OIr with three (Beolan, Cellach, and Golla), two obscure (Oban and Scadwine), one each of Latin (Iohan) and OF (Durand).

Dies

Two-thirds of the dies came from Winchester and the remainder from local (York A style) fabrication during RSC. The latter dominated the supply during NSC, along with a few dies obtained from London. The pattern was very mixed during FSC, when Lincoln, London and local fabrication (York B style) supplied all the dies, with the exception of a few from Northampton.

	Edgar		Edward		Æthelred II	
	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.	Obv.	Rev.
Ælfstan	–	–	4.5	6	1	1
Æthelweald	–	–	1	1	–	–
Asketill	–	–	–	–	1.5	2
Asulfr	1	1	–	–	–	–
Beolan	–	–	2.5	2	1	1
Branting	1	1	–	–	–	–
Cellach	–	–	1	1	0.3	1
Dun	2	1.5	1	0.5	–	–
Farman	–	–	–	–	0.5	1
Fastulfr	4	3	1	1	1.5	2
Gunnulfr	1	1	2	2	–	–
Iohan	1	1	–	–	–	–
Iosteinn	–	–	1	1	–	–
Isulfr	2	2	0.5	1	0.5	1
Kolgrimr	–	–	1.5	2	2	2
Manna	2	3	–	–	1.3	3
Oda	3	3	1	2	5.3	5
Osmund	1.5	2	–	–	–	–
Regenbald	–	–	–	–	1	1
Serkrlauss	–	–	0.5	2	0.5	1
Siduman	1	1	–	–	–	–
Styr	–	–	0.5	1	1	1
Styrkarr	–	–	0.5	1	–	–
Sunnulfr	–	–	–	–	1	1
Svertingr	–	–	–	–	1	1
Thorsteinn	–	–	–	–	2	2
Tuma	2	2	–	–	1	2
Uri	–	–	–	–	1	1
Uspakr	1.5	1	–	–	–	–
Wineman	–	–	–	–	1	1
Wulfric	2	2	–	–	–	–
Total	25	24.5	18.5	23.5	24.5	30

Die-links

There are quite a number of die-links between moneyers: Ælfstan (C) and Styr (A); Asketill (A) and Isulfr (D); Beolan (A) and Isulfr (C); Beolan (C) and Oda (E); Beolan (D) and Styrkarr (A); Cellach (B), Manna (C), and Oda (H); Farman (A) and Serkrlauss (B); Kolgrimr (A) and Serkrlauss (A); Osmund (A) and Uspakr (B).

Two die-links with other mints have also been recorded. The first involves Fastulfr (G) and Northampton, Cylm (E). The second concerns Oda (D) and Lincoln, Adalaver (B).

```
Ælfstan       |   | A – A   B   C – C
              | – | 2   1   1   1   1
              |   | a   b – b   c   d
                D   E | F |
                1   1 | 1 |
                e   f | g |
Æthelweald    |   | A |   |
              | – | 1 | – |
              |   | a |   |
Asketill      |   |   | A   B |
              | – | – | 1   1 |
              |   |   | a   b |
Asulfr        | A |   |   |
              | 1 | – | – |
              | a |   |   |
Beolan        |   | A – A   B   C   D | E |
              | – | 2   1   3   1   1 | 2 |
              |   | a   b – b – b – b | c |
Branting      | A |   |   |
              | 1 | – | – |
              | a |   |   |
Cellach       |   | A | B |
              | – | 1 | 1 |
              |   | a | b |
Dun           | A   B | C |   |
              | 1   1 | 2 | – |
              | a   b – b |   |
Farman        |   |   | A |
              | – | – | 1 |
              |   |   | a |
Fastulfr      | A   B   C   D | E | F   G |
              | 1   1   2   1 | 1 | 1   1 |
              | a – a   b   c | d | e   f |
Gunnulfr      | A | B   C |   |
              | 1 | 1   1 | – |
              | a | b   c |   |
```

```
Iohan         | A |   |   |
              | 1 | – | – |
              | a |   |   |
Iosteinn      |   | A |   |
              | – | 1 | – |
              |   | a |   |
Isulfr        | A   B | C | D |
              | 2   1 | 1 | 1 |
              | a   b | c | d |
Kolgrimr      |   | A   B | C   D |
              | – | 1   1 | 1   1 |
              |   | a   b | c   d |
Manna         | A – A   B |   | C – C   D
              | 1   1   1 | – | 2   2   1
              | a   b   c |   | d   e   f
Oda           | A – A   B   C | D   E
              | 1   2   1   1 | 1   1
              | a   b – b   c | d   e
              | F   G   H   I   J   K |
              | 1   1   1   1   1   1 |
              | f – f   g   h   i   j |
Osmund        | A   B |   |   |
              | 3   1 | – | – |
              | a   b |   |   |
Regenbald     |   |   | A |
              | – | – | 1 |
              |   |   | a |
Serkrlauss    |   | A – A | B |
              | – | 2   1 | 1 |
              |   | a   b | c |
Siduman       | A |   |   |
              | 1 | – | – |
              | a |   |   |
Styr          |   | A   B | C |
              | – | 2   1 | 1 |
              |   | a   b | c |
Styrkarr      |   | A |   |
              | – | 1 | – |
              |   | a |   |
Sunnulfr      |   |   | A |
              | – | – | 1 |
              |   |   | a |
Svertingr     |   |   | A |
              | – | – | 1 |
              |   |   | a |
Thorsteinn    |   |   | A   B |
              | – | – | 1   1 |
              |   |   | a   b |
```

Tuma	A		B		C	–	C
	1		1	–	1		1
	a		b		c		d
Uri				A			
	–		–	1			
				a			
Uspakr	A		B				
	2		1	–	–		
	a	–	a				
Wineman				A			
	–		–	1			
				a			
Wulfric	A		B				
	1		1	–	–		
	a		b				

Mint?

The mint-signature cannot be read on some fragmentary coins of the Reform issue and on one which is double-struck. On some of the fragmentary coins the entire legend has been chipped leaving only the central field. One of the coins in this group was found in Devonshire and represents a moneyer that is not recorded at any other mint [Blackburn & Bonser 1986, no. 80]. The coin is from Edward the Martyr and the style is southern. Some of the letter are uncertain but the name of the moneyer is probably to be read H?M.RALNER, where the second letter is indistinct and the last two somewhat uncertain. Possible interpretations for the full name could be Moraldner and Haraldner.

Besides coins of the Reform issue which cannot be attributed to a mint because they are fragmentary, there is a group of two coins with legible obverse legends, while the reverse legends are completely blundered. There is, however, no reason to suspect that they are contemporary forgeries, since both are struck from obverse dies that are otherwise not suspect. It is significant that neither of the coins have Edgar's name.

The first coin is from Edward the Martyr and the obverse is of southern style [Illustrated in Jonsson 1987, 57]. The reverse 'legend' appears to be semi-punched and semi-engraved, but few, if any, letters can be distinguished. Both obverse and reverse dies are rusty. The coin could, in principle, have been struck at a mint anywhere in England.

The second coin is from Æthelred II and the obverse is of the Lincoln style, while the reverse has an unusually large cross and the 'legend' consists of engraved signs that are obviously intended as letters [Mack 1973, no. 817]. Even if the legends connected with the Lincoln style can sometimes be very blundered, it is clear that the reverse cannot be associated with that style, but must have been produced locally in Lincolnshire or its immediate surroundings.

The two coins cannot be die-linked to any other coins, and they are a sign of the general decay of the coinage towards the end of the Reform issue.

4.9. Conclusions

4.9.1. Organization of the coinage

It was cardinal that the coinage was not abused and regulations to this effect are found in the law codes. E.g. IV Æthelred, 9.1 states that the moneyers ['shall be responsible for the production by their employees of pure money of the proper weight' [Petersson 1969, 266]. Some law codes also relate the number of moneyers allowed at different mints. The figures mentioned in IV Æthelred, 9 (three moneyers in every principal town and one moneyer in every other town) [Petersson 1969, 266], indicate that an excessive number of moneyers could be difficult to administer, but the rules were obviously not implemented. There are, however, no contemporary written accounts of how the mints and the moneyers operated at the time of the reform. Any conclusions in this respect must be based on an analysis of the surviving coins and of later written sources.

A) The coinage of the Church

The coinage was a royal prerogative, but grants to issue coins had been given to ecclesiastical institutions from early times [It has also been claimed that a royal prerogative did not come into existence until Alfred or Athelstan, see Kinsey 1958, 12-13]. In the late Anglo-Saxon period these institutions embraced archbishops, bishops, and abbots. Their right to strike coins in their own name had been revoked in the early part of the tenth century, and the moneyers which they were allowed to keep struck coins that conformed to the types used for the royal coinage. The statement in III Æthelred 8.1 that 'no one except the king is to have a moneyer' [EHD 441] is no doubt to be seen as giving legal status to the royal prerogative. Thus the special privilege which was inherent when a grant to strike coins was given to an institution would then be even more apparent. If very little is known of how the royal coinage was organized, our knowledge of the ecclesiastical coinage is even less.

Grants to strike coins had no doubt been issued at an early date by various kings and some were no doubt still in force at the time of the reform in c. 973. They include three mentioned in the Grateley codes and concern the archbishop of Canterbury (two moneyers), the abbot of Canterbury (one moneyer), and the bishop of Rochester (one moneyer) [EHD 420; Blunt 1960, xvi]. References in Domesday Book and later to ecclesiastical coinages may also in some cases have been in force during the Reform issue and relate to the archbishop of York, the bishops of East Anglia (one moneyer, probably at Norwich, during Edward the Confessor) and Hereford (one moneyer during Edward the Confessor) [Blunt 1960, xvi-xvii].

One grant dates from the reign of Edgar in 972 and is given to the abbot of Peterborough to employ one moneyer at Stamford [Wells 1935, 50]. The surviving coins indicate that the abbot exercised the privilege during the Reform issue and they are thus the only evidence of an ecclesiastical coinage at that time.

The moneyers working for the church seem to have paid fixed fees to their employer as did the moneyers working for the king. The first part of the fee, which was paid for the dies when a new type was introduced, was, however, paid to the king.

B) The royal coinage

The business connected with the coinage can to begin with be divided into the exchange of coins and silver and the striking of coins.

a) The exchanges

The moneyers were in charge of an exchange, where they bought bullion and put new coins into circulation. One charter from Henry I (1100-35) states that 'no-one shall venture to change money except a moneyer [Petersson 1969, 268]. A writ from c. 1118 forbad moneyers to exchange money except in their own counties and in the presence of two witnesses [Wells 1935, 57]. This would imply that by this time they had to pay extra when they wanted to farm an exchange in connection with local markets in another county. It is uncertain whether the moneyers had previously had to pay for farming an exchange at other markets than that of the mint. It may be that each moneyer was allowed to farm exchanges at specific markets. It seems, however, that exchanges in other counties could be farmed for a fee. This is inferred from a record which can be dated to c. 1125 and states that the moneyers (at Stamford) in the service of the abbot of Peterborough paid 20 s. for the exchanges farmed at Peterborough and Oundle [Wells 1935, 54].

The fees that the moneyers paid probably included part of the profits from the exchange that was attached to each mint, as well as at other markets, unless they were paid for specifically.

b) The mints

In the pre-reform period comparatively few mint-signed coins survive from southern England, while a very large part of the numerous coins struck in the north lack a mint-signature. This of course makes it difficult to establish with certainty which mints started to operate in connection with the reform, but it is apparent that their number must have been fairly large. Mints that are not recorded (or can be assumed to have operated) prior to the Reform issue are (earliest type given within parenthesis) Barnstaple (RSC), Caistor (NSC), Guildford (NSC), Horncastle (NSC), Ilchester (RSC), Louth? (NSC), Lydford (NSC), Malmesbury (RSC), Torksey (NSC), and Winchcombe (RSC). Others could include Cambridge (RSC), Thetford (RSC), and Worcester (FSC). As shown below some of the new mints are probably not directly related to the reform. The new mints have been associated with an ambition that no one should have to travel more then fifteen miles to have his coins exchanged [Dolley & Metcalf 1961, 152]. The argument may, however, also be reversed, because local exchanges (and hence often local mints) were necessary to make a recoinage economically successful. If there were only a limited number of active exchanges more old coins would remain in circulation and the king's profit from a recoinage would be less than if there were many local mints and exchanges.

Throughout the late Anglo-Saxon coinage there was also a continual change, which meant that some mints closed while others were added. In some cases the two are connected, like Wilton and Salisbury [Dolley 1954C], but in most cases the opening of one mint is not connected with the closure of another. In such cases the reasons for the changes are not self-evident. Scholars have then connected some of these new mints with a desire to fill gaps in the existing distribution of mints. Others are linked to historical events like raids and an assumed strain on production caused by danegeld payments, e.g. Cambridge, Colchester and Southwark/Sudbury in Æthelred II Crux type. The opening of new mints is also often coupled with an increase in the production of neighbouring mints, e.g. Hertford and Thetford in Æthelred II Crux [Lyon 1976, 197 note 4]. These geographically restricted changes, which are sometimes quite drastic, must reflect dynamic economic developments on a local level.

The surviving coins from the Reform issue are too few to be able to provide an unbiased coverage for the production at all the mints in England throughout the issue. A detailed mapping of the economic developments on a local level is thus not possible for the whole of England, but can nevertheless be done for at least two areas. Even though the large number of coins from Lincoln and Stamford in the English hoards exaggerates their true position during Edward the Martyr, it is clear that the relative production was higher in this area than might have been expected. That Lincolnshire was enjoying an economic boom at the time is supported by the fact that no less than five mints in the county are recorded for the first time during the period from Edward the Martyr to Æthelred II First Hand, viz. Caistor, Grantham, Horncastle, Louth(?), and Torksey. The number of new mints in such a restricted area during such a short period is unprecedented in the late Anglo-Saxon coinage, and must be due to an economic expansion in the region.

In Devonshire in the south-west the mints of Barnstaple, Exeter, and Totnes, cannot claim a large production in the Reform issue. With the Hand issue the situation is completely reversed, and all three mints emerge as large or very large mints. The fourth mint in the county, Lydford, also shows a pronounced increase in the number of surviving coins. It is not without significance that Launceston in the neighbouring county of Cornwall, emerges very briefly as a mint in the area during the First Hand type. This remarkable expansion in the south-west area is already indicated from the four surviving coins of Exeter during FSC, which is much higher than would be expected from a southern mint, where only one is known from Winchester, and two from London. Again the coinage must reflect an increased economic activity, of which there is otherwise no record.

A total of fifty-one mints are recorded for the Reform issue. In the late Anglo-Saxon coinage certain die-links and other pieces of information have prompted the idea that coins stated to be struck at some of the smaller mints were in fact struck at a larger mint [Lyon 1970B, 202-3]. There are no indications to this effect in the Reform issue, but it could relate to Peterborough during the First Hand type [Blunt 1960, xv].

c) The moneyers

The economic aspects of the coinage were fundamental, as they must have provided an important revenue for the king. The king's revenues derived from a variety of sources, such as the geld levied on all land according to an assessment in hides. The king's reeves farmed the revenues (probably with the exception of the geld) for a fixed annual rate, which was far below the nominal revenue [Barlow 1978B, 186]. A number of services were also rendered and concern e.g. the building and repair of roads and bridges, as well as the local fyrd, the army, and the fleet.

The revenues connected with the coinage are primarily known from information in Domesday Book and other later sources. Some revenues were regular, while others are connected with special events.

When a new type was introduced the moneyers paid a fee when they obtained a set of the new dies, as well as a new fee a month or fifteen days after they had returned. Besides this an annual fee was paid. Domesday Book records the fees that were paid in the time of Edward the Confessor (1042-66), when the moneyers had to go to London to obtain the new dies. The fees are noted for only a small part of the mints that operated at the time, and whether the fees were noted or not evidently depended on whether they were considered relevant or not. It is to be noted that all four mints in Dorset have records: Bridport, Dorchester, Shaftesbury, and Wareham. Some of the fees are also recorded for mints along the Welsh border: Chester, Hereford, Shrewsbury, and Worcester. The remainder for which some fees are recorded are Lewes and Nottingham, as well as the neighbouring mints of Colchester and Ipswich. The fee was 20s. when the dies were received, with the exception of the moneyers of Hereford (who only paid 18s.), and all moneyers paid 20 s. a month later. There was only a tax on the first set of new dies, while additional dies could no doubt be obtained at not much above the actual cost of producing them, which was in the neighbourhood of a few shillings. The annual fee of the moneyers was usually one mark of silver (13s. 4d.) [Grierson 1986, 87]. The annual fees and the fees for new dies when a new type was introduced were paid by the moneyers to the king. The former fees were collectively termed *de moneta* after a monetary reform c. 1080 and were then paid by the boroughs to the king, while the latter fees were replaced by a tax called *monetagium* [Grierson 1986].

A special fee was levied when one moneyer was succeeded by another, but the size of this relief is not known.

It has sometimes been possible to follow the careers of individual moneyers from the coins that they struck at different mints [See e.g. Blackburn 1974, 19; Freeman 1985, 46-53; Stewart 1978B, 102-3]. It is, however, often very speculative to associate moneyers bearing the same name at different mints with one another unless their names are very unusual [See Stafford 1978B, 40-1 and section 4.8 above for possible movements of moneyers during the Reform issue]. Die-links between mints are in general not common. The only exhaustive investigation which has been published concerns Cnut's Quatrefoil type, where seventeen die-links are recorded, based on more than 3,000 coins [Blackburn & Lyon 1986, 250]. They usually relate to adjacent mints. In the Reform issue links between mints are limited to the following three:

Lincoln (Adelaver) – York (Oda)
Lympne (Æthelstan and Leofwold) – Southampton (Wynstan)
Northampton (Cylm) – York (Fastulfr)

The fact that all three die-links involve moneyers with different names rules out any suggestions of travelling moneyers.

d) Recoinages

It has been seen as a puzzle that the theory of recoinages is not supported by law codes stipulating severe fines for the use of obsolete coins. If abuse was not punished, how would it be possible to force people to exchange old coins for new ones? The king, however, had some means at his disposal to remedy this situation. The annual geld on landholding was probably demanded in current coin, and if it was paid in obsolete coins or in goods there would be a surcharge. Purchases worth fourpence or more had to be witnessed according to the law, irrespective of whether made in town or country [EHD 458 (II Cnut, 24)]. In general trade was probably also more controlled in the towns, so that it would be possible to control the circulation of coins.

Judging from the hoards the recoinage connected with the reform was very succesful, but it is not certain that all recoinages were as effective. The varying size of the coinage from issue to issue during the post-reform period [Metcalf 1981, 56] could to a large extent reflect the success of the individual recoinages. The sharp decrease in production coincides with a change when the period of each issue was reduced to about a third. The consequence must have been that a lower share of the currency was reminted in connection with each recoinage and hence the production decreased.

Based on a recoinage of 15 million coins and assuming that the net profit was 10% (£ 6,250) the recoinages would (on an annual basis) add perhaps 10-15% to the yearly revenues of the royal coffers.

4.9.2 Who used the coins

Only one denomination was struck. [Cf. Lyon 1965 and Pirie 1975, xxii for a possible struck halfpenny from the post-reform Anglo-Saxon period. Two pennies struck in gold are also known from the same period – Allan 1948].The choice of motive on the coins has, however, been regarded as an aid for cutting halfpennies (and to some extent farthings). No investigations have been undertaken which can provide figures as to how common this method was, but in general these cut coins appear to be uncommon. A majority of the surviving coins from the late Anglo-Saxon period comes from Scandinavian hoards. Provided that they are connected with danegelds and long trade commerce the halfpennies which they contain may well underrepresent the true figures. In this respect the largest hoard from Scandinavia with Anglo-Saxon coins, Äspinge, Skåne (DS 107) is exceptional, since it contains hundreds of cut halfpennies, but it is doubtful whether it is representative of how common such cut coins were in England.

The surviving coins from the Reform issue originate from hoards to a very high degree, but here two English hoards dominate. Among the known coins from these two hoards only one is a cut halfpenny, which is equal to 0.5%. Among the Scandinavian coins there is likewise only one cut halfpenny, which is equal to 0.4%. Among the stray finds from England the picture is radically different as five coins out of thirteen are cut halfpennies. The farthing which according to contemporary sources was included in the Oakham hoard (BI 175) no doubt refers to the centre of a broken coin [Blunt & Lyon 1971, 112, 116]. No cut farthings are known of the Reform issue today, but all the known halfpennies are listed on the next page.

Three of the coins have been found with metal-detectors during the last four(?) years and their find-spots reflect the area where it has been possible over the last few years to establish good contacts with the finders.

The weights of the three coins of Edgar and Edward are remarkably high, with 1.66 g as a theoretical average weight for a corresponding penny, while the three coins of Æthelred II average only 1.26 g.

In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries coins were officially cut into halfpennies and farthings [Andrew 1901, 9], and this practise may well have been in use during the Reform issue as well. If so, however, they cannot be distinguished from coins which have been cut elsewhere.

Even taking account of the fact that it is easier to lose a halfpenny compared to a penny, the stray finds of pennies are not more than eight compared to five for the cut halfpennies.

	Mint and moneyer	Find spot	Weight
Edgar	[Canterbury], Wine	Chester hoard (BI 174)	0.88 g
	Lympne, Æthelstan	Averly, Essex	–
	York, Æ[?]	Meols, Cheshire	0.83 g
Edward	Torksey, Thurcetel	Tamworth, Staffordshire	0.82 g
Æthelred II	Bedford, [Ælfstan]	Hägvalls hoard, Sweden (G 19)	0.72 g
	York, Gunnolf	Shrubbland Hall, Suffolk	0.62 g
	York, Wine[man]	Grimsby, Lincolnshire	0.56 g

This should be sufficiently convincing evidence that the cut halfpennies were much more common in the currency than the few found in the hoards indicate.

This point becomes important when discussing who used the coins. There are a number of possibilities:

a) payment of taxes
b) pay to the soldiers
c) domestic trade
d) foreign trade

The size of the foreign trade is very hard to assess. Foodstuffs and consumer goods would not leave any signs behind them unless the latter were of a durable character. Any coins connected with trade would have been exchanged and melted down when they were taken abroad, and they would also leave no trace. Based on the losses due to low exchange rates it is reasonable to assume that the trade was mainly on a basis of goods in exchange for goods. The origin of the silver used for the Anglo-Saxon coins has been much discussed, and it has usually been assumed that it was imported, since no indigenous mines of adequate size are known [see e.g. Sawyer 1965, 159–60]. The Danegelds paid between 991 and 1018 were enormous, but it must be left to speculation to what extent they were paid in coins and how much of it actually left England. In the long run no country, however, could sustain a continuous drain of silver abroad. A survey of the activity of mints in ports could give some clues, but at the same time the available material would be much reduced if a large proportion of the coins in fact were exported.

The domestic trade is equally difficult to assess. The number of stray finds, which could indicate a lively commerce, is not impressive, but it is also true that our chances of tracing commercial activity would be best in the towns. Coin finds from archaeological excavations are rapidly increasing in numbers, but they are still too few to allow analyses. The composition of the hoards shows that the circulation of coins was beginning to be more active and the stray finds point in the same direction [Metcalf 1981 has surveyed the material for the late Anglo-Saxon and Norman period, but it is still too small to be used for an investigation of development over time].

In the late Anglo-Saxon period no standing army existed. The freemen (ceorls) were required to serve the local defence in the fyrd, but in the case of regular campaigns the thegns made up the core of the army [Brooke 1978, 85; Loyn 1984, 164-5]. In 1008 Æthelred II ordered ships to be built all over England, but it is not until c. 1012, when he imposed a tax known as heregeld, which was to last for 39 years, that a standing fleet is inferred [EHD 241, 245]. The garrisons in the boroughs also had to be paid for, although they probably received much of their wages in kind, and the garrisons were probably small.

Taxes offer the only use contemporary written sources can throw light on. An annual geld was levied on land based on an assessment in hides. The rate in the late Anglo-Saxon period was usually 2 s. a hide. The geld is estimated at £ 7,000 (excluding East Anglia) in the days of Edward the Confessor [Barlow 1979B, 156-7], of which about two-thirds was net. There were also taxes due to the Church. Coins (as against kind) were ideally suited to accomodate the needs connected with these taxes and the revenues due from the royal desmesnes.

Based on estimations of the total population and the size of the Reform issue, there would be ten coins to every person (significantly more if children and slaves were not included).

5. THE HISTORICAL CONTEXT OF THE REFORM

5.1 Background

The Germanic tribes, Angles, Saxons and Jutes, that emigrated to the British Isles from the middle of the fifth century onwards, formed a number of kingdoms, some of which waxed strong and conquered lesser neighbours before the first annals had a chance to record the history of the lesser kingdoms.

In the north there was Bernicia and Deira, which in 633 finally amalgamated and became Northumbria, the land of the people north of the Humber.

The west Midlands was occupied by Mercia, to which a number of surrounding tribes and kingdoms became subject, like Lindsey south of the Humber, the Middle Angles to the east, the Hwicce to the south and other lesser tribes.

The geographical location of East Anglia, with the sea on two sides and the uninhabitable Fens on the third, helped to keep their kingdom more or less independent until the Viking invasions in the ninth century.

Wessex occupied most of the south-western part of England (with the annexation of Cornwall, probably in 838) a position which it had acquired through a series of successful wars against neighbouring tribes and kingdoms such as Sussex, Middlesex, Surrey, and the Isle of Wight.

Kent had a leading cultural and economic position in early times, but could not retain its independence in face of its two powerful neighbours, first Mercia and later Wessex.

In this time of the 'Heptarchy', one of the kings south of the Humber (or sometimes of Northumbria itself) was overlord over the other kings and known as 'Bretwalda' (or 'Brytenanwealda' – sole ruler of Britain). The first five overlords that Bede mentions all came from different kingdoms [Stenton 1975, 33-4], which shows that the position was not a hereditary one. It would, however, seem that there was no fixed signification associated with the title, but that powers inherent in the title rather depended on the individual Bretwaldas [Keynes 1985A, 39-40]. As noted above, the effects of contemporary wars included a continual reduction of the number of more or less independent kingdoms.

The Viking presence in England, of which the raid on Lindisfarne in 793 is the first recorded instance, eventually ended in the attacks on, and downfall of, Northumbria (866-76) and East Anglia (869-79), as well as the partition of Mercia (873-7). It left Wessex as the last stronghold of the Anglo-Saxons.

After an intermittent life and death struggle Wessex emerged as the victor under Alfred 871-99, and a slow process of reconquering the territories lost to the Vikings began. This did not mean that the former kingdoms of East Anglia etc. revived, but that they piecemeal were incorporated into Wessex. In consequence Æthelstan 924-39 was able to change his title on the coins from a mere ÆTHELSTAN REX (King Æthelstan) to ÆTHELSTAN REX TO(TIUS) BRIT(ANNIÆ) (Athelstan king of all Britain). Although Northumbria was regained by the Vikings in 939, it was finally subdued in 954. All the territories where the Anglo-Saxons had once settled were now formally united under one king.

5.2. The pre-reform coinage of Edgar

The part of the coinage in the reign of Edgar (957/9-75), which was struck before the reform, had its roots dating back to the days of Alfred (871-99), when the coinage was largely confined to Wessex. With Edward the Elder (899-924) most of the areas under Viking domination were regained, and mints were set up. By then the types were confined to two only in the parts where Edward had effective control, while there were many local types in the part of Mercia where Edward's sister Æthelflœd acted as ruler. The number of types increased during Athelstan (924-39), and in the pre-reform period of Edgar five main types (usually not mint-signed) and a large number of varieties were struck.

The circulation of coins was locally restricted to what may be termed monetary regions. The types and varieties were also locally restricted, although some were struck (at different times) in large parts of England. At least six monetary regions existed, and in each of them it would seem that the coins in circulation were limited to those struck within the region. To a large extent the regions followed the borders of the ancient kingdoms, with some modifications where the Viking settlements had created new borders. The fact that local types and varieties were struck was not a novelty introduced during Edgar's reign. There is a general trend during the tenth century towards more local types, which may reflect a lack of direct royal control of the coinage over a large part of England. If so it hardly comes as a surprise in view of the succession of youthful rulers: Edmund (939-46) (born in 921), Edred (946-55) (born c. 922/3), Edwig (955-9) (born c. 940/1), and Edgar (957/9-75) (born in 943). It is likely that the monetary regions developed gradually over the same period, but more research is needed on this point.

Although it is possible to claim that England was a united kingdom by the reign of Athelstan, it is clear that the country for all practical purposes was far from united. This is apparent from differences in various parts of England with respect to the law, the language, the culture, the local administration etc. [See e.g. Hill 1984, 98]. The origins of some of these local differences go back far, while others are connected with the Vikings. Only very limited measures were undertaken to change this state of affairs when Wessex had completed the reconquest and become the kingdom of all England. One change occurred when Edward the Elder replaced the Danish system of carucation with hidation in the south-western part of the Danelaw [Hart 1973, 121]. Another was the shiring of the unpartioned part of Mercia, which, however, is usually regarded as an attempt to prevent Mercia from again becoming a separate kingdom [Chadwick 1905, 225].

Anglo-Saxon coinage also brings out the local differences very clearly, as well as adding one very important feature to the pattern. Although the Vikings struck coins in the areas under their domination, this seems usually to have been sporadic, which means that the areas (including Mercia) into which the royal coinage was now introduced did not in general have a tradition of striking coins. Thus the coins that began to be struck in these parts following their incorporation into Wessex did not have to be adjusted to an already established pattern. It is of immense significance that local patterns none the less developed with time. This shows that the fact that England was formally united was of no importance. When new features, like the coinage, were introduced, they very soon adopted a local pattern. England may have been formally united, but that did not affect old local customs or prevented the formation of new ones, as decisions continued to be made on the local level. The rule of the king hence tended to be in name only, and concerning coinage policy, it may after some time have been limited to including his name and title on the coins. As to the profits of the coinage a growing share may at the same time have been granted to local authorities.

This is not to imply that the king lacked authority in any part of England. He could no doubt make his will felt anywhere in England provided he was there in person or issued the appropriate orders. Whether he lacked control is another matter. With regard to Æthelred II, Stafford has pointed to the concentration of royal land in Wessex and how the king's itinerary is connected with the large royal manors in Wessex. She combines this with the difficulties of royal control in other areas [Stafford 1978A, 19-20]. The itineries of the kings of England in the tenth century show that they spent nearly all their time in Wessex save during the periods of reconquest [Hill 1984, 87-90]. Under the circumstances it was natural for the king to devote his interests to Wessex. To the areas outside Wessex, the authority to heed in day to day business, in the absence of the king, had to be a local one.

In the reconquered areas (including Mercia), which were all incorporated into Wessex, the ealdormen were in the beginning appointed as principal administrators as well as an answer to local demands for more independence [See e.g. Stenton 1975, 329-30]. Officially the ealdormen were the king's chief representative in virtually every corner of the realm, and they were also appointed by the king. Outside of Wessex they may, however, equally be described as the successors to the thrones of the old kingdoms, although they ruled in the name of the king of England. They also attended court regularly. The ealdormen commanded the armies of their ealdordoms in war, they were entitled to a third of the fines, and the same amount of the royal customs in most English boroughs [Hart 1987, 66-7; Loyn 1984, 77, 133]. It was in the interest of the king to keep the loyalty of the ealdormen and make them respected, and hence they received grants and favours from the king. During the tenth century the ealdormen gradually developed into a group of wealthy and powerful men with inter-related families [Stafford 1978A, 17]. This also had the opposite effect that the ealdormen became less dependent on the good will of the king. There was further a tendency for the ealdordoms to become hereditary, which may be seen as the beginning of a feudal society [Barlow 1979B, 168, with respect to Edward the Confessor, but this argument could just as well apply to the second half of the tenth century]. The local organization of the pre-reform coinage might be connected with the ealdordoms, in which case it would be further proof of the growing influence of the ealdormen. If so, however, it may be wrong to say that their increasing power meant a corresponding decrease in the influence and power of the king; this might perhaps more be a reflection of the king's lack of ambition to conduct a truly national policy.

Contemporary sources often refer to the ealdormen without mentioning their ealdordoms. In consequence there are great problems connected with any efforts to define in detail the extent of the individual ealdordoms. There seems, however, to have been a base which was adjusted from time to time. There are also indications that ealdormen sometimes could be subordinate to other ealdormen [See e.g. Hart 1973, 122-3].

In the mid-tenth century a reconstruction of the ealdordoms would consist of (quotations within parenthesis refer to contemporary names): west Wessex ('western provinces'), Hampshire-Berkshire-Wiltshire-Dorset ('Wessex') [Williams 1982, note 22], Sussex (probably including Kent and Surrey [Hart 1973, 134]), Essex, East Anglia, south-eastern Mercia, central Mercia ('Mercia'), north-western Mercia, and Northumbria (northern Northumbria was sometimes separate). The approximate locations of the ealdordoms are illustrated in fig. 5.1. Trying to list the succession of ealdormen in the individual ealdordoms also offer problems. Table 5.1 is nevertheless an attempt to present a survey of the ealdormen and their ealdordoms in the second half of the tenth century, and the early part of the eleventh century.

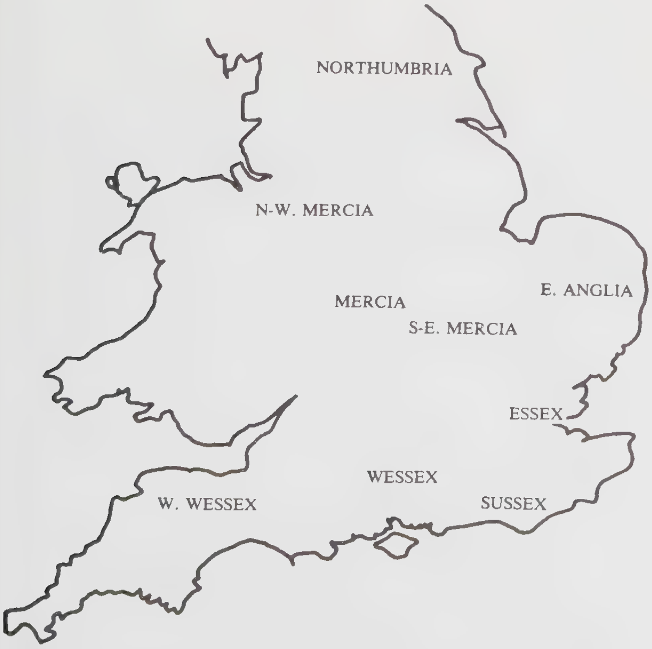


Fig. 5.1. The ealdordoms during the late Anglo-Saxon period.

It will be seen that the extent of the ealdordoms shows clear affinities with the different areas and monetary regions connected with Edgar's pre-reform coinage. With regard to East Anglia, Hart has shown that the ealdordom during Athelstan (940-57) also included Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire [Hart 1973, 121]. If there is a connection between the local character of the coinage and the ealdordoms, such shifts in the borders of the ealdordoms could explain some anomalies in the pattern of the coinage. E.g. the one (or two) stray finds in Cambridgeshire on the 'wrong' side of the monetary border would end up on the 'right' side of the border if Cambridgeshire was at that time part of the East Anglian ealdordom.

If the ealdormen were in the end responsible for enforcing the collection of the yearly geld [Hart 1987, 66], they were also in a position to make sure that only coins of their own choosing would be accepted. This would effectively ban coins from other areas, and explain how the monetary regions could be so successful in restricting the circulation of the coinage. In addition, restricting the circulation would not have been meaningful unless it was connected to other measures relating to the coinage. Profits from a restricted circulation of coins could be obtained in two ways. Operating exchanges would offer one possibility. Direct control of the striking of coins, or at least a share in the profits would be another solution. In any event it is recorded a century later (Domesday Book) that the earl or count had a share in the proceeds of at least some of the mints [Stafford 1978B, 41]. The die-cutting centres in the post-reform period has also been connected with the ealdordoms [Dolley 1958A, 35; see also Stafford 1978B, 41].

If in general the areas of the coinage and the ealdordoms would seem to overlap, there is one area that does not fit the pattern. North-eastern England, south of the Humber, has no corresponding ealdordom. It is clear, however, that, together with Northumbria it constituted a monetary region, although it is conceivable that they may have become separate regions after c. 964. The question is then if the ealdordom of (southern) Northumbria at this time could also have included the shires south of the Humber. Published information is lacking on this point, and it is doubtful if support for such a suggestion could be found among the surviving contemporary documents. In any event, the suggestion would imply that the monetary region here was connected with the ealdordom, while there were two authorities, located north and south of the Humber respectively, responsible for the motifs of the coins.

The situation in Wessex is different from the rest of England. Even if the lack of hoards makes it difficult to assess the situation in detail, it is evident that the coinage developed

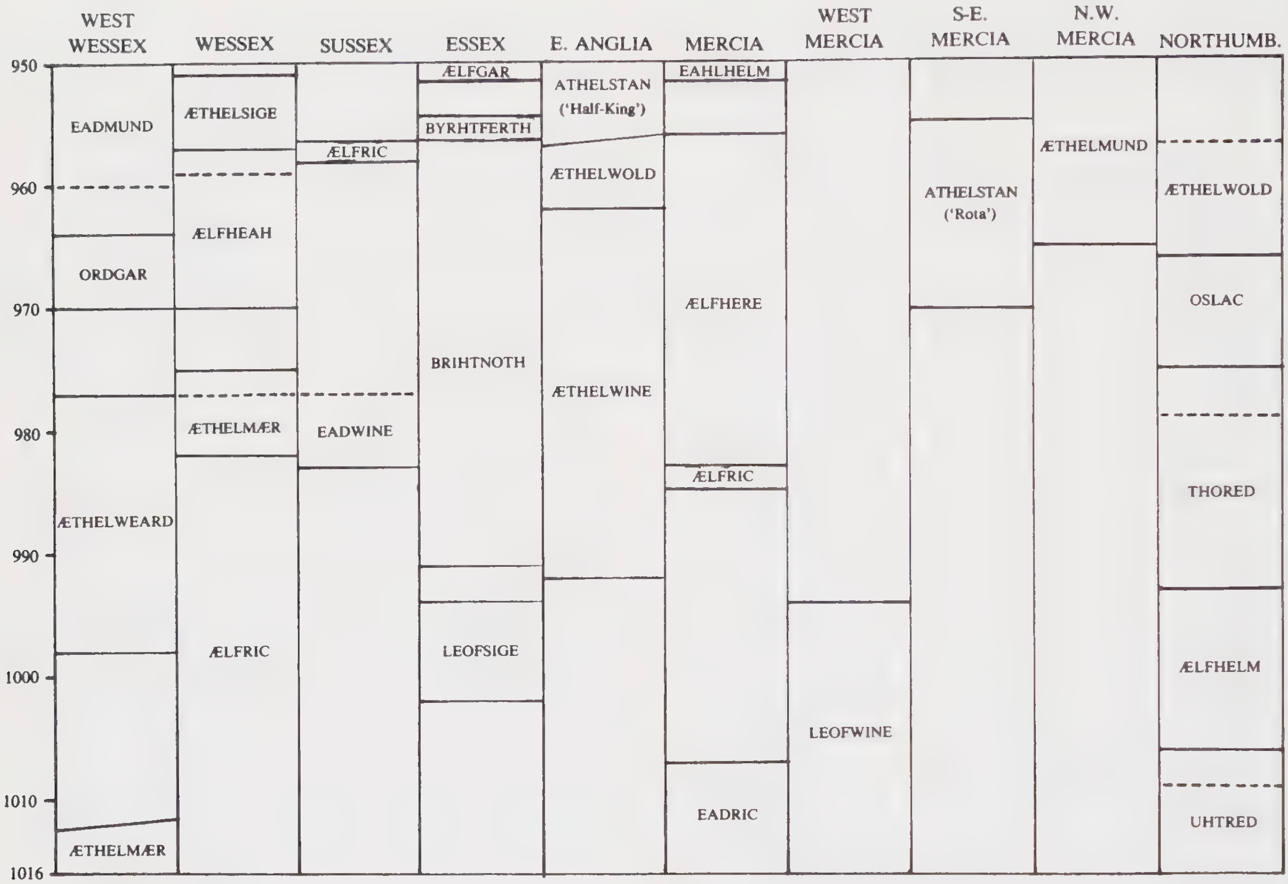


Table 5.1. The ealdordoms and the ealdormen in the late Anglo-Saxon period.

along different lines. It is also hard to believe that the situation would not be different in the king's immediate surroundings. The suggested development of the coinage rather points to Wessex as a monetary region of a different kind. It is less likely that a system which restricted the coinage, in the sense of the other monetary regions, was applied in Wessex. Its character as a monetary region is then a result of the existence of the other monetary regions, and hence due to its surroundings. Connections exist, however, between the ealdordoms and the indications of internal areas in Wessex based on the individual types used for the coins. There also seems to be a tendency towards a uniform type for all of Wessex in the latter part of Edgar's pre-reform coinage.

In the absence of hoards the nature of the monetary regions of central Mercia and East Anglia could also be questioned (as to south-east Midlands, the status of the region has been discussed above in connection with the coinage). Here the scanty stray finds offer the only support for suggestions of monetary regions.

It is not possible to state as a fact that there is a direct link between the local areas of Edgar's pre-reform coinage and the ealdordoms, but if such a link does not exist some other link will have to be found. If it was not until the reign of Edgar that the monetary regions came into existence, the chances of ever proving or disproving a link between the coinage and the ealdordoms will be very limited, in view of the short duration of the monetary regions and the scarcity of contemporary documents relating to the ealdordoms.

5.3. The reform of the coinage

The coinage reform instigated by Edgar in c. 973 meant the destruction of many traditions of English coinage and seems to have had eight main objectives:

1) the withdrawal from circulation of all coins in England in exchange for coins of a new type
2) the new coins should circulate freely all over England
3) a common motif on all coins struck over the whole of England, which included a representative portrait of the king on the obverse
4) the rendering on all coins of not only the name of the moneyer but also that of the mint in the reverse legend
5) a system of periodic recoinages (when a new type was introduced) for fiscal purposes to the effect that only one type was to be allowed to circulate (or be accepted in certain transactions) at any given time
6) the creation of a number of new mints which could supply local needs
7) effective control of the coinage achieved by a centralized production of dies
8) an increase in royal revenues since the new coins had to be acquired at a premium (perhaps four old coins for three new ones)

These aims, as presented above, are of course influenced by our knowledge of the developments that followed, and some of the goals may have developed with time.

The date of the reform and its repercussions on the coinage have been much debated, but no attempt has been made to put the reform into a wider context. The reason for the reform as given by the thirteenth century chronicler Roger of Wendower, i.e. clipped coins, is one that would be understood by his contemporaries, but which is without relevance for the period concerned. It is instead necessary to look at what the reform achieved in order to explain what brought it about and from whence it could have been inspired.

The uniform coinage of the Reform issue meant the destruction of the monetary regions and the local pattern of the coinage in general. What made this dramatic change possible? Edgar was only fourteen years old when he became king of England north of the Thames, but by the early 970s he would have been in a position to take a more active part in governing his kingdom. His childhood friend, Abbot Dunstan, had been exiled by Edwig in 956 but was recalled by Edgar in the following year [Keynes 1985B]. Late in the reign of Edwig, Brihthelm had been appointed archbishop of Canterbury, but after Edwig's death Edgar forced Brihthelm to resign and Dunstan was appointed archbishop in 959 [Whitelock 1973]. No one would seem to deny Dunstan's part (along with Æthelwold and Oswald) in Edgar's policies for the monastic revival, but his traditionally important influence in political matters has been questioned [Whitelook 1973, 232]. In any event he was obviously a man in whom Edgar had much faith and had the full support of.

On the secular scene there were only three ealdorman who had been appointed since Edgar came to power. The first was Æthelwine of East Anglia (appointed in 962); the son of Athelstan 'Half King', and thus raised in the same household as Edgar [Hart 1973, 133]. The second was Ordgar of west Wessex, who received his position in the same year as Edgar wed his daughter Ælftryth (the widow of Æthelwold, a foster-brother of Edgar); he immediately ranked third in importance among the ealdormen [Hart 1973, 130, 133]. The third was Oslac of Northumbria, appointed in 966. Ordgar ceased to witness charters in 970, as did two other ealdormen, Ælfheah of Hampshire, who had ranked second, and Athelstan 'Rota' of south-eastern Mercia, who had ranked fourth [Hart 1973, 133]. The implication is that all three died in the course of 970, but their ealdordoms were left vacant. The ealdordom of Sussex (probably including Kent and Surrey), was evidently also vacant, not to be filled until 977 [Hart 1973, 134]. The ealdordom of north-western Mercia had become vacant in 965, when Æthelmund signed for the last time [Williams 1982, 158]. The combined effect of these events was that by the early 970s, three of the four top-ranking ealdormen had disappeared without being replaced, and in fact there was not a single ealdorman appointed south of the Thames [Hart 1973, 133-4, has suggested that Ælfhere of Mercia could have controlled these areas as well, but that assumes that the ealdordoms were not deliberately left vacant].

For the remainder of the reign no appointments of new ealdormen were made [Stafford 1978A, note 31, rejects the appointment of Ealdorman Æthelweard of Wessex in 975]. Of the ealdormen still in office after 970 some no doubt supported Edgar's policies, while others opposed them. As far as e.g. the policy of the monastic revival was concerned Stafford has shown that the individual ealdormen were not wholly committed for or against, but acted with their own interests in mind [Stafford 1978A, 23]. Ælfhere of central Mercia ranked first among Edgar's ealdormen and is described as 'appropriating enormous revenues' [Williams 1982, 156-7]. A re-emergence of Mercian separatism has also been connected with Ælfhere [Williams 1982, 161-4]. His actions following Edgar's death indicate that he did not support Edgar's policies. Æthelwine of East Anglia, who ranked second after 970, had been appointed by Edgar; as he was his foster-brother, he was probably on good terms with Edgar. Byrhtnoth of Essex, who ranked third after 970, may also have supported Edgar. The remaining ealdorman was Oslac of Northumbria, who had been appointed by Edgar. He was not a northerner [Stafford 1978A, 29] and was later exiled, which indicates that he did not have local support. It is thus likely that he was more dependent on the support of the king.

Was the monetary reform an isolated event or part of a larger scheme? The monastic revival in Edgar's reign was not limited to Wessex, and it must have made Edgar more aware of the desireability for a national policy in the political field as well. The aim would be to centralize the government and make England a truly united kingdom. As pointed out above the interests of the kings of England had traditionally been centered in Wessex. At the same time, local authorities had grown strong in the absence of strong national leaders. Thus England, though formally united, had in reality come to give the impression of a federate kingdom. In the light of men like Athelstan 'Half King' the ealdormen could be seen as true representatives of local leadership as much as symbols of local independence. However, local separatism went further than that, and it would not be an easy task to try to unite a country that had its roots in a time of local kingdoms with all their inherent traditions and ways of life, not to mention generations of fighting to remain independent. Natural obstacles set by the land itself were rivers, woods, marshes etc., especially as they once had helped to give natural borders to the territories of the various kingdoms.

History provides many examples of failures to unite a country, when the urge to local rule could not be overcome by the central power. The development of Germany in the Middle Ages is an extreme example of this. In England the central power, in the person of the king, may seem to have won the struggle when the reconquest by arms of the former kingdoms under Viking rule was finally completed in 954. Edgar's climb to power via rule over East Anglia, Mercia and Northumbria 957-9 as an independent king, was, however, as good as an official statement from the highest authority that this was not true.

A trend towards more direct royal control in the provinces, based on officals known as high reeves, gradually developed in the second part of the tenth century [See Stafford 1978A, 29]. The much smaller areas (often shires) which they controlled helped to break down the system of large ealdordoms. In the transition phase it is easy to see how conflicts between ealdormen and reeves became a growing problem.

If the monetary reform of c. 973 is to be seen in its proper context, it must be related to the political situation at the time, where it is likely to have been part of a policy to increase royal control and centralize the administration. A number of events towards the end of Edgar's reign point in this direction.

The grant of the triple hundred of Oswaldslow to Worcester in 964 was a benefaction to the church, but at the same time it also reduced the power of the foremost ealdorman, since it removed a central part of Mercia from Ælfhere's jurisdiction and influence [Barlow 1979B, 169-70; Williams 1982, 158-9]. It is a speculative but tempting thought that this added effect could have been intentional.

Edgar's policy of keeping the ealdordoms vacant after 970 has already been mentioned. It created a local power vacuum which was the necessary condition upon which a co-ordinated policy of centralized rule could be built.

The coronation at Bath in 973 can also be placed in this context, and the more so if Nelson's suggestion that Edgar had been crowned once before in 960/1 is correct [Nelson 1977, 63-7]. The new ceremony performed in 973 was then an imperial inauguration where the then still standing Roman architecture at Bath was chosen for the occasion. Here the presence of the Roman Empire could still be felt, even if the imperial ideals this time were inspired from Germany [Nelson 1977, 67-8].

Edgar's new status is also seen in the homage done to him by eight (or possibly six) rulers of bordering kingdoms at Chester in 973. That Chester was chosen for this meeting, rather than for instance Bath or Winchester, might at first sight be seen as of their choosing and not that of the king. On the other hand it might far better be conceived as a means for Edgar to show his power and might to the people of the distant northern parts of his kingdom. The submission of Kenneth, King of Scotland, is yet another connected event which probably can be dated to 973.

The law code known as IV Edgar (probably to be dated to 973) can also be seen as part of the new policy for centralized rule. The character of one provision is described as 'common to all the nations, whether Englishman, Danes or Britons, in every province of my dominion', while one other concerns 'all who inhabit these islands' [EHD 435, 437; Nelson 1977, 69].

For obvious reasons a change from a (*de facto*) decentralized to a centralized policy could not be achieved overnight no matter how strong the ambition for change. If the events referred to above seem to indicate that every part of the new order was introduced in 973, this is probably coincidental. The monetary reform, for instance, could just as well have been undertaken in 972 or 974, but judging from the surviving coins it is unlikely to have occurred earlier or later. Edgar's death on 8 July 975 prevented the policy of centralized rule being fully implemented. It will never be known if the policy could have been accomplished in full if Edgar had lived longer, or if the opposition would in the end have proven to be too strong. The monetary reform was achieved before his death and give a glimpse of the new order that was intended.

Not only did the reform of the coinage break a locally controlled coinage, but it also provided the prospect of substantially increased royal revenues. Such extra revenues were no doubt welcome because of expenses connected with an increase in public (i.e. royal) employment.

Where did the inspiration for recoinages come from? A series of recoinages were evidently undertaken in southern England in the middle of the ninth century [Dolley 1983]. It was not until the monetary regions emerged a century later that a policy of recoinages could have been revived. If so, Edgar simply transformed a local event into a national event. If not, the success of the recoinage connected with the reform itself must have made the king aware of the potential revenues involved in repeated recoinages.

5.4. The aftermath

Following the death of Edgar, the dispute over the succession, which set Edgar's eldest son Edward on the throne, offered a golden opportunity to undo much of what had been achieved during Edgar's rule [Stafford 1978A, 24]. The abuses against the Church are recorded in the Life of St. Dunstan [EHD 912-14], and similar actions were no doubt taken to remedy Edgar's secular policies. That minors were to occupy the throne for the next decade guaranteed that the ideas of centralized rule were pushed aside. During Edward's three year reign new ealdormen were again being appointed, Æthelweard in west Wessex, Æthelmœr in Hampshire, and Eadwine in Sussex. The new trend is for instance seen in the race to recover property which had been lost as a result of Edgar's monastic policy [Stafford 1978A, 24]. A reform had been needed to centralize the coinage and the currency, and it would have been necessary to undertake a new reform if the wheel was to turn quickly. Although that was not brought about, the coinage was not unaffected by the change of rule, and the die-cutting, which had been centralized to a large degree during Edgar, now becomes regional or local in character.

When Æthelred II became king, following the murder on 18 March 978 of his half-brother Edward, not much was changed. Æthelred's position was not made stronger from the fact that his followers had been outnumbered once before in the struggle for power in 975; furthermore his minority lasted to c. 984. The coinage at first continued the type introduced at the reform. The recoinage early in the reign, when First Hand was introduced, is a sign that the 'REX ANGLORVM' (king of the English), which is the only title found on the coins after the reform, could still wield power. At the same time, however, the die-cutting assumes an established regional pattern, which may explain the success of the recoinage, as it would allow local profit sharing.

Æthelred II shows signs of reviving his father's intentions later in his reign, and in the light of history the coinage of the 980s and 990s may be set in this context. Ælftryth, Edgar's second wife and the mother of Æthelred II, apparently played a important part at court including witnessing diplomas, except for a break from 985 until 993. This break coincides with the death of Æthelwold, bishop of Winchester, on 1 August 984, and the end of Æthelred's minority [Keynes 1980, 174, 176]. A period involving some abuses of churches followed when Æthelred came under the influence of men, whom Keynes identifies with some 'ministri', and who were only concerned with their own interests [Keynes 1980, 177-82]. The coinage during the 980s consists of the much debated Hand issue. Æthelred II was now influenced to take actions, and the Second Hand type could be seen as an unsuccessful attempt to regain control of the production of dies (or an unsuccessful recoinage which thus only became enforced in the south). The 'ministri' referred to above were court officials and did not exercise local power, and it was probably in their interest, too, to keep as much power as possible in the king's hands. Furthermore Ealdorman Ælfric of Mercia was exiled in 985, and the position was not refilled.

The recoinage connected with the introduction of the Crux type would coincide with a period of a more firm grip on the nation as a whole when the deaths of Ealdormen Brihtnoth of Essex in 991 and Æthelwine of East Anglia in 992, and the probable exile of Thored of Northumbria in 993, left all of England north of the Thames without a single ealdorman [Stafford 1978A, 28-9]. For some time no ealdormen were appointed to replace the first two, while the latter was replaced by Ælfhelm, who descended from northern Mercia [Stafford 1978A, 29]. The introduction of Crux would then preferably be set c. 993/4, a date which would perhaps also better agree with the dates of the German coins in the Scandinavian hoards of this period.

When Edgar died the policy of centralized rule of a united empire had only begun, and it was never really put to the test. Edgar had cooperated with the Church and enjoyed the support of its leaders. It is not likely that Æthelred enjoyed the support of the Church to the same extent as his father did, and he was probably also not as competent as a ruler. He thus did not have the same base to operate from. As it turned out his actions only helped to divide the country, and his increasing number of reeves threatened the position of the ealdormen [Keynes 1980, note 165; Stenton 1975, 548-50]. Before the king got a chance to try to gain the necessary control, the renewed Viking attacks on England began. Æthelred II now had to face both strong local opposition to central rule and the menace of the Viking fleets. The situation would have been difficult to handle even if Æthelred had been a strong and able ruler. If he had been successful in dealing with the two tasks now set before him, he might well have come down to posterity as Æthelred 'the Great'.

The defence of the country suffered in the face of the local opposition to the king's domestic policies, at a time when a co-ordinated defence was crucial. The country became demoralized, with the treacherous behavior of some ealdormen as the climax. Thus the policy of strong centralized rule paved the way for the conquest of England and the election of Cnut as king. It was, however, up to the Normans after the Conquest in 1066, to create a centralized kingdom free of local separatism and powerful leaders based on the heritage of the Heptarchy.

Edgar's policy, of creating a strong centralized and united kingdom is clearly manifested in the monetary reform c. 973, and later by Æthelred II, who also managed to bring renewed order to the coinage in connection with the introduction of the Crux type, an order that was to last until the twelfth century. More than any other event of the times, the reform was the sign of a new era – both from a numismatic and a historic point of view.

6. SUMMARY

Chapter 1.

Introduction

The aim of the present study is to investigate the background for the monetary reform which was undertaken in c. 973 in England during the reign of Edgar, and its consequences as reflected in the first issue following the reform.

Chapter 2.

The basis – the coinage to 957/9

A number of kingdoms were founded by the Germanic tribes that emigrated to England from the middle of the fifth century onwards. The Viking invasions in the ninth century ended in the downfall of Northumbria in the north, and of East Anglia in the east, as well as the partition of Mercia in the central and western parts of England. Only Wessex in the south succeeded in remaining completely independent under its leader Alfred.

The coinage up to this time had been confined to a few mints in the south-east of England as well as in East Anglia and Northumbria. Alfred increased the number of mints in the area under his control.

Following the reconquest by Wessex of the areas under Viking domination in the early tenth century a large number of mints were opened throughout England. The unpartitioned part of the former Mercian kingdom now also became part of Wessex, which left Wessex in control of all of England; it thus emerged as the Kingdom of England. The coins struck in the reconquered areas were at first of similar type to that used in Wessex, whereas local varieties were struck in Mercia. Local varieties and types were, however, gradually introduced all over England in the course of the tenth century.

Chapter 3.

The prelude – the pre-reform coinage of Edgar

The background for the reform is given in an analysis of the pre-reform coinage of Edgar, which dates to the period 959 to c. 973. The penny, which was the principal denomination, is known from nineteen types and varieties. Some of them are only recorded from a very limited number of coins. Extremely rare halfpennies of four types are also known. Some 2,000 coins have survived from 39 hoards deposited in the British Isles. Nearly half of the hoards are from Ireland, 9 from Scotland, 5 from the Isle of Man, 1 from Wales, and only 5 from England itself. Of the English hoards three major ones are found in the north while two minute hoards are from the south and north respectively. The analysis of the composition of the hoards was undertaken with the help of a computer. Since about 90% of the surviving coins have no mint-signatures it was first necessary to investigate the geographical composition of the hoards. This revealed that of the three major English hoards (all found in the north) two contain coins struck in one of two northern regions and have a narrow age structure. The third hoard, found in 1950 at Chester, contain coins from mints all over England (as well as three foreign coins): the wide age structure of this hoard is also different from that of the other English hoards. It is atypical in every respect and cannot represent the typical currency in the area where it was found. The hoards from other parts of the British Isles cover the coinage in northern England very well, while there are very few coins from the southern parts of England.

The types and varieties were also analysed in order to establish a chronological and geographical order. The analysis of the coinage showed that when a certain type was struck within more than one region it was often of a local variety. A change from one type to another in one region was usually not connected to changes in other regions. It is also evident that the circulation of coins was restricted; there probably existed a total of six monetary regions, where only coins struck within the region could circulate. As no hoards are known from the south, the conditions there must be based on stray finds and the coins themselves. It must thus be borne in mind that the interpretation of the coinage in the south is based on a material that in many respects is insufficient for a proper analysis.

The pre-reform coinage of Edgar marks the end of a development during the tenth century towards a more pronounced local character of the coinage. This raises fundamental questions as to who exercised control of the coinage on the local level. The monetary regions seem almost completely to coincide with the ealdordoms, which in many parts of England can be seen as successors to the kingdoms that existed before the Viking invasions. It is clear that some influence over the coinage was exercised at the local level, while the extent of this influence and the authority behind it must be left to speculation: nevertheless a connection with the ealdormen must be seriously considered, the more so if recoinages were undertaken on a local level, since the ealdormen may well have had the overall control of the collection of the yearly geld.

Chapter 4.

The new era – the Reform issue

The fact that a monetary reform was undertaken at the end of Edgar's reign has been known for a long time, but all the implications have not been recognized before. Based on the hoards and the coins themselves it is possible to summarize the effects of the reform:

1) the local influence connected with the pre-reform coinage now disappeared
2) a new type was introduced all over England
3) at the same time all old coins were withdrawn from circulation, and similar recoinages were intended to take place in the future
4) all new coins were to circulate freely all over England
5) a number of new mints were opened
6) besides a representative portrait of the king, the coins now also carried information about the name of both the mint and the moneyer
7) the production of dies was centralized in order to secure control of the coinage
8) an increase in royal revenues, since the new coins had to be acquired at a premium.

The basic account of the reform was given in a paper published in 1961, but the ideas had been developed during the 1950s. It represents the final stage of research into the structure of the late Anglo-Saxon coinage, a field with roots in the 19th century.

The date 975 for the reform was given by the 13th century chronicler Roger of Wendower, but modern scholars have suggested other dates, with 973 receiving the widest recognition. The present study assigns the reform to c. 973, since it is not likely to have occurred either before 972 or later than 974, based on the surviving coins and their hoard contexts. Roger also stated that the reform was undertaken because the coins were clipped, but this is clearly a reflection of the conditions in Roger's time. The true reasons for the reform, however, are apparent from the results of the reform: primarily it brought an end to the local influence on the coinage, moreover, the recoinages provided the economic means for a growing number of royal officials who would replace the local administrations.

The dies used for the Reform issue can be divided into fourteen national, regional or local styles besides a number of dies of odd local styles. The national Winchester style enjoyed a virtual monopoly during RSC, while it became limited to the south-west during NSC. Edgar did not achieve complete control of the die-production, but the policy was really only threatened at Lympne (were local abuse is indicated), in East Anglia, and at York. Regional styles such as Lincoln, London A and B, and Stamford A account for the bulk of the dies during NSC. A national London style is dominant in the south during FSC, while the regional Lincoln style is very strong in the north-east. In Northumbria two local styles during the Reform issue are confined to York, where they comprise a large share of the dies in use. All in all the styles used during the Reform issue can be assigned to nine die-shops: Canterbury, Chester, Derby, Lincoln, London, Northampton, Norwich, Stamford, Winchester, and York. A majority of them are confined to NSC and FSC, when regional die-cutting reach a peak. On the national level the development shows that Winchester loses its early dominant position to London, but London never even comes near to achieving the near-monopoly that Winchester had enjoyed in RSC.

The weights of the coins of the Reform issue show a progressive decline, and it is possible to see how a number of different weight-standards were used. There were, however, regional differences, with some mints tending to strike coins of a higher weight than the average, while the opposite is true for others.

A total of 122 hoards with Reform pennies have been recorded, but most hoards are of limited value since there are only four from England. Of these four, two from the south are very small (two and three coins, respectively), while two from the north (Oakham and Chester 1914) are large (c. 300 and 121 coins, respectively). The latter two both cover the entire Reform issue (with an emphasis on NSC and FSC) and show that coins from mints all over England were in circulation, although local mints from the north-east are very dominant. These two hoards show that the reform was very efficient in removing the pre-reform coinage from circulation. They also indicate that the recoinage was rapid in the south, but that it probably was initially slow in the north. The majority of the hoards have been found in Scandinavia (especially on Gotland) and in the Slav areas (present-day East-Germany, Poland and the Soviet Union); they contain a total of 283 coins. These hoards have a somewhat different composition compared to the English hoards, as coins of RSC are dominant and the representation of southern and northern mints is more even.

The analysis of the dies shows that mints in the north-east are best covered among the surviving coins, but that this area also had a large production during the Reform issue. Estimates regarding the size of the coinage indicate a total production of between 15 and 20 million coins, half of which were struck at the five largest mints.

The section dealing with mints and moneyers provide a survey of the coinage from 924 to c. 991 at the mints which were active or could have been active in the Reform issue. In the pre-reform period the number of surviving coins from southern mints is very small, while the large number of coins from northern mints can usually not be attributed to a mint. It is thus difficult to establish how the importance of individual mints changed with time. This is more easily done for the period after the reform, but it is evident that some local areas are very well covered in the hoards while others are very poorly covered. In general it would seem that the pattern of the pre-reform period still persists with regard to the surviving coins: i.e. many aspects of the coinage in the south remain in the dark.

Chapter 5.

The historical context of the reform

Germanic tribes founded a number of kingdoms in England. East Anglia and Northumbria were subsequently conquered by the Vikings during the invasions in the ninth century, and Mercia was partioned. Only Wessex (which had previously conquered Kent) succeeded in remaining independent. During the early tenth century Wessex slowly reconquered the areas under Viking control and became the Kingdom of England. The king, however, spent most of his time in Wessex, and ealdormen were appointed to rule the conquered areas in the king's name. The ealdordoms basically coincided with the former kingdoms.

The progressively regional character of the coinage during the tenth century reached a climax when the circulation of coins became restricted to separate regions. It appears that the ealdormen, who became more and more powerful during the tenth century, were responsible for this development and that they acquired a growing influence over the coinage.

This development had coincided with a period of youthful rulers, and does not have to imply that the power of the kings had declined, but merely that they had not conducted a national policy. A series of events towards the end of Edgar's reign, however, indicate a change. The monetary reform in c. 973 was a part of this new policy and it gives an indication of what the new national policy intended to accomplish. The regional influence over the coinage now came to an end, and the coinage of the new type could now be administered (because the coins now carried the name of both the moneyer and the mint) and controlled (via the production of dies) on a national and centralized basis.

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SCMB – Seaby's Coin and Medal Bulletin. London.
SNC – Spink & Son's Numismatic Circular. London.
TRHS – Transactions of the Royal Historical Society. London.
UJA – Ulster Journal of Archaeology. Belfast.

Abbreviations

BI	Hoard from the British Isles – see Blackburn & Pagan 1986.
BM	The British Museum, London.
CG	Continental Germanic.
DS	Find from Denmark-Skåne – see Jonsson 1987, 31–4.
E	Find from Estonia – see Kluge 1981, 304–10.
F	Find from Finland – see Blackburn & Jonsson 1981, 231–3.
FSC	Æthelred II, First Small Cross.
G	Find from Gotland – see Jonsson 1987, 19–24.
I	Find from Iceland – see Blackburn & Jonsson 1981, 229.
KMK	Kungl. Myntkabinettet (Royal Coin Cabinet), Stockholm.
N	Find from Norway – see Blackburn & Jonsson 1981, 225–7.
NSC	Edward the Martyr, Normal Small Cross.
OE	Old English.
OF	Old French.
OIr	Old Irish.
ON	Old Norse.
R	Find from Russia – see Kluge 1981, 311–17.
RSC	Edgar, Reform Small Cross.
S	Find from Sweden – see Jonsson 1987, 26–9.
W	Find from West Slav Lands – see Blackburn & Jonsson 1981, 235–49.

8. CATALOGUE

8.1 Hoards with pre-reform coins of Edgar

Only hoards from the British Isles are included below, and within each area they are listed in the order of Blackburn & Pagan 1986 (BI) for easy reference.

8.1.1. England

Tetney, Lincolnshire, May 1945.
420 coins, of which 414 Anglo-Saxon, 2 Viking, and 4 imitations. One further Anglo-Saxon coin has been claimed to belong to the hoard [Edgar, Circumscription Cross, Fastolf – Blunt & Dolley 1969, no. 57].
Deposit: c. 965.
Disposition: 74 in BM, 55 in Lincoln, remainder in various public and private collections.
Reference: BI 141; Dolley 1966, no. 108; Thompson 1956, no. 355; Walker 1945.

Chester (west side of the Castle Esplanade), Cheshire, 29 November 1950.
543 coins, of which 537 Anglo-Saxon, 3 Viking, 2 French, and 1 Italian. Some coins were obviously dispersed as 17 of the coins have turned up after the hoard was published. One additional coin has been claimed to be part of the hoard [Edgar, Circumscription Rosette, Tamworth, Spereman – Gunstone 1971, no. 178].
Deposit: c. 965.
Disposition: 215 coins in BM, remaining 328 in the Grosvenor Museum, Chester.
Reference: Archibald 1967; BI 144; Blunt & Dolley 1953; CH 2, no. 444; Dolley 1966, no. 102; Thompson 1956, no. 86.

York (Pavement), Yorkshire, 1951.
2 coins, both Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: c. 963.
Disposition: Yorkshire Museum, York.
Reference: BI 148; Dolley 1952; Dolley 1966, no. 109.

Kent, c. 1858.
Several coins of Edred, Edwig and Edgar, and at least 1 imitation. It is not stated that the coins were actually found in Kent, and the coins included in the Christmas sale have a northern bias. It is thus very unlikely that they originated from a hoard found in Kent, but rather constituted the whole or a part of a hoard found in Scotland or on Ireland. As no association with a known hoard can be made based on the available information, it is not included in the discussion of the hoards.
Reference: BI 151; Christmas 1861, 19–20.

Chester (97, Eastgate Street), Cheshire, 5 June 1857.
70–80 coins, all Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: c. 967.
Disposition: about 60 of the coins were stolen after a few days. 43 coins, appearently constituting a part of the stolen coins, were given in 1941 to the Grosvenor Museum, Chester.
Reference: BI 153; Dolley 1966, no. 101; Peacock 1866; Thompson 1956, no. 84; Turner 1944.

Welwyn (Great North Road), Hertfordshire, August 1912.
4 coins, all Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 975.
Disposition: one coin in BM, others sold.
Reference: BI 173; Dolley 1969.

8.1.2. Wales

Bangor (Senior Vicar's Garden), Gwynedd, winter 1845/6.
More than 2 coins, of which 2 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: c. 965.
Disposition: dispersed. Judging from the drawings of the two recorded specimens, they were brittle and in a poor state. Three fragmentary coins of the same variety in a collection in the Chester area were published in 1969 [Purvey 1969, nos. 1–3]. It is thus perhaps possible that they were part of the Bangor hoard. Since the present whereabouts of the former two specimens are not known, it is not possible to compare the patination. Until such a comparison can be made any connection between the two parcels must remain speculative.

Reference: BI 150; Dolley 1959B; Dolley 1966, no. 99; Dykes 1976, 27, no. 3.

8.1.3. Isle of Man

Ballaqueeney (Port St. Mary), Kirk Rushen parish, 1874.
Unknown number of coins. A reconstruction comprises 45 coins of which 39 Anglo-Saxon, 4 Viking, 1 imitation, and 1 French.
Deposit: c. 963.
Disposition: 43 coins in the Manx Museum, Douglas.
Source: 8 coins listed by W. Weale. Dolley associates another list by Kneale covering 18 coins with the hoard and has reconstructed the remainder with the help of patination.
Reference: BI 143; Dolley 1966, no. 92; Dolley 1975A, 190–1; Dolley 1976B, no. 3; Dolley 1979B; Graham-Campbell 1983, 56–7; Thompson 1956, no. 34.

Kirk Andreas church tower, Kirk Andreas parish, 1866/7.
Nearly 100 coins. 18 recorded, of which 17 are Anglo-Saxon and 1 imitation.
Deposit: c. 967.
Disposition: 30 coins given to the Manx Museum, Douglas in 1938, of which 13 can be identified. An additional 5 coins are in private collections.
Reference: BI 155; Dolley 1966, no. 97; Dolley 1975A, 146–7; Dolley 1975B, no. 4; Dolley 1979C; Graham-Campbell 1983, 57.

Ballakilpheric, Rushen parish, before c. 1885.
Unknown number of coins, all Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: c. 959–73.
Disposition: dispersed.
Reference: BI 159; Dolley 1979B, 124; Graham-Campbell 1983, 57.

Ballaquale (64/66, Derby Road), Douglas, Kirk Onchan parish, 12 June 1894.
More than 405 coins, of which 396 Anglo-Saxon, 7 Viking, and 2 imitations.
Deposit: c. 970.
Disposition: 22 or 23 coins in BM, 138 coins in the Manx Museum, Douglas, others dispersed.
Reference: BI 165; Blunt 1966; Carlyon-Britton 1908; Dolley 1966, no. 112; Dolley 1975A, 191–2; Dolley 1975B, no. 5; Graham-Campbell 1983, 57; Grueber 1913; Pagan 1980; Sotheby 29.10. 1917, no. 164; Thompson 1956, no. 127.

Kirk Michael churchyard, Kirk Michael parish, 1972/5.
79 coins, of which 22 Anglo-Saxon, 19 Hiberno-Norse, 21 Hiberno-Manx, and 17 French.
Deposit: after c. 1059.
Disposition: Manx Museum, Douglas.
Reference: BI 248; Dolley 1980A.

8.1.4. Scotland

Skye, 1850.
More than 200 coins ('upwards of 90 coins fell into the hands of one individual, and a much greater number were dispersed'), of which by far the greater number were coins of Edgar.
Deposit: c. 959–73 (c. 970?).
Disposition: dispersed. In 1856 the coin cabinet in Copenhagen acquired 34 pre-reform coins (Æthelwulf – Edgar) from the dealer W. Webster in London [Galster 1964, 46–7]. With the exception of one or up to three of the earlier coins, they give the impression of a parcel from a hoard deposited somewhere in the British Isles c. 970. The coins of Edgar consist of 19 pennies dominated by (an early and) a late north-eastern element, and a small early and late north-western and central Mercian element. No hoard where the composition is known would seem to fit this parcel. Based on the minute information available it is possible, although very speculative, that the Webster parcel originated from the Skye hoard. If so, the Skye hoard would be consistent with the other datable Scottish hoards with pre-reform coins of Edgar, which are all deposited c. 970 or later.
Reference: BI 162; Graham-Campbell 1982.

Machrie, Laggan Bay, Kildalton, Islay, 1850.
More than 113 coins, of which 106 Anglo-Saxon, 1 Viking, and 6 imitations.
Deposit: c. 970.
Disposition: 18 in BM, 58 at Edinburgh, 3 at Glasgow, others in various public collections.
Reference: BI 168; Dolley 1966, no. 114; Scott 1855; Thompson 1956, nos. 201 and 202.

Port Glasgow (near), Renfrewshire, before 1705.
'A great number' of Anglo-Saxon coins.
Deposit: c. 967–73?
Disposition: 2 or 3 coins may have been acquired by J. Sutherland, in which case they are now in Glasgow.
Reference: BI 169; Dolley 1966, no. 115; Stevenson 1966, xv, xxii, xxvii.

Tiree (near Dun a Chaolais), Argyll, 1782. 200–400 coins (based on the weight). 126 recorded of which 125 Anglo-Saxon and 1 Viking.
Deposit: c. 970.
Disposition: 63 coins each in BM and at Edinburgh.
Reference: BI 171; Dolley 1966, no. 119; Graham-Campbell 1976B, 128; Thompson 1956, no. 357.

Iona Abbey, Iona, off Mull, 1950.
At least 363 coins, of which 345 Anglo-Saxon, 5 Viking, 10 imitations, and 3 French.
Deposit: after c. 985.
Disposition: Edinburgh.
Reference: BI 180; Dolley 1966, no. 124; Thompson 1956, no. 198.

Tarbat Churchyard, Ross-shire, 1889.
13 coins. 11 recorded, of which 1 is Anglo-Saxon and 10 French.
Deposit: c. 1000.
Disposition: 6 coins at Edinburgh.
Reference: BI 190; Dolley 1966, no. 118; Pagan 1973; Thompson 1956, no. 351.

Quendale, Gartsbanks (near Fitful Head), Dunrossness, Shetland, 1830.
'Some coins' (at least 8 coins), of which 6 are recorded, all Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after c. 991.
Disposition: 6 coins at Glasgow, 2 or 3 coins (now lost) at Edinburgh.
Reference: BI 192; Dolley 1966, no. 130 and 136; Graham-Campbell 1976B, 128–9; Robertson 1961, xii; Stevenson 1966, xix; Thompson 1956, no. 144 and 161.

Burray, Orkney, 24 April 1889.
13 (?) coins. 6 recorded, of which 5 are Anglo--Saxon and 1 German.
Deposit: after c. 997.
Disposition: 6 coins at Edinburgh.
Reference: BI 193; Dolley 1966, no. 132; Stevenson 1966, xviii; Thompson 1956, no. 61.

Inchkenneth, off Mull, Argyll, c. 1830.
C. 100 coins. 34 recorded, of which 22 are Anglo-Saxon, 1 Viking, 3 Hiberno- Norse, 1 imitation, 6 French, and 1 German.
Deposit: after c. 997.
Disposition: 17 coins each in BM and at Edinburgh.
Reference: BI 194; Dolley 1966, no. 133; Thompson 1956, no. 196.

8.1.5. Ireland

Near Ballitore, Co. Kildare, 1837.
38 coins, of which 36 are Anglo-Saxon and 2 Viking.
Deposit: c. 959–73.
Disposition: in the collection of the Dean of St. Patrick (H.R. Dawson), dispersed Sotheby 30.6.1842.
Reference: BI 142; Dolley 1962B; Dolley 1966, no. 94; Hall 1974, 76; Thompson 1956, no. 29.

Unknown findspot, 1862.
48 coins known, of which 42 are Anglo-Saxon and 6 Viking.
Deposit: c. 965.
Disposition: acquired by J. Evans in 1862, 28 now in BM.
Reference: BI 145; Dolley 1966, no. 95; Evans 1863; Hall 1974, 76.

Lough Lene, Co. Westmeath, May 1843.
More than 28 coins, of which 23 are Anglo-Saxon, 3 Viking, and 2 French.
Deposit: c. 959–73.
Disposition: some acquired by J. Lindsay in 1843, 2 coins now in BM.
Reference: BI 146; Dolley 1966, no. 96; Dolley 1967A; Hall 1974, 76; Lindsay 1844; Thompson 1956, no. 260.

Smarmore, Ardee, Co. Louth, 29 January 1929.
More than 72 coins, of which 69 aare Anglo-Saxon, 1 Viking, and 2 imitations.
Deposit: c. 965.
Disposition: National Museum of Ireland, Dublin; at least 1 unpublished in private possession.
Reference: BI 147; Blunt 1953; Dolley 1966, no. 107; Hall 1974, 77; Thompson 1956, no. 333.

Near Armagh, Co. Armagh, 1831.
More than 3 coins, of which 2 are Anglo-Saxon and 1 Viking.
Deposit: c. 959–73.
Disposition: dispersed.
Reference: BI 149; Dolley 1966, no. 98 and 32, note 13; Hall 1974, 76; Lindsay 1842, 122; Thompson 1956, no. 13.

Burt, Carrowen, Co. Donegal, 1863/4.
More than 11 coins, of which 11 are Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: c. 967.
Disposition: dispersed.

Reference: BI 152; Dolley 1959D; Dolley 1966, no. 100; Hall 1976, 76; Porter 1864; Seaby 1959, 249–50; Thompson 1956, nos. 75 and 261.

Killincoole, Co. Louth, 1864.
7 coins, all Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: c. 959–73.
Disposition: dispersed.
Reference: BI 154; Dolley 1966, no.103; Graham-Campbell 1976A, 63, 67; Hall 1974, 77; Thompson 1956, no. 212.

Co. Meath, c. 1845.
More than 3 coins, of which 2 are Anglo-Saxon and 1 Kufic.
Deposit: c. 959–73.
Disposition: dispersed Sotheby 27.4.1870, nos. 147, 179, and 181.
Reference: BI 156; Dolley 1960, 43–4; Dolley 1966, no. 104; Graham-Campbell 1976, 63; Hall 1974, 77.

Rahan (no.1) (near Tullamore), Co. Offaly, c. 1820.
'An extensive hoard' of Anglo-Saxon coins.
Deposit: a few decades after the event it was claimed to have contained coins of the ninth century, but this was rejected by Dolley, who placed the date in the tenth century. Graham-Campbell has dated the hoard to c. 970, a date which cannot be corroborated from numismatic evidence. This hoard is hence not included in the discussion of the hoards.
Disposition: dispersed.
Reference: BI 157; Dolley 1962A; Dolley 1966, no. 105; Graham-Campbell 1976, 63; Hall 1974, 77.

Rahan (no. 2) (near Tullamore), Co. Offaly, 1828.
'Some' or 'a considerable number' of Anglo-Saxon coins.
Deposit: one account published a few decades after the event claimed that the hoard contained coins of Ecgberht 801–39, but this has been rejected by Dolley based on the composition of a collection. Dolley dates the hoard to the tenth century. Graham-Campbell gives a date of c. 970, but such a narrow date does not find support in the numismatic evidence. In consequence the hoard is not included when the hoards are discussed.
Disposition: 9 coins acquired by D. Dawson.
Reference: BI 158; Dolley 1962A; Dolley 1966, no. 106; Graham-Campbell 1976, 63, 67; Hall 1974, 77.

Bullock (no. 1), Co. Dublin, 1838.
3 coins, all Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: c. 959–73.
Disposition: dispersed.
Reference: BI 160; Dolley 1974A; Hall 1974, 77.

Bullock (no. 2), Co. Dublin, 1840?
C. 65 coins ('upwards of sixty'), all Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: c. 959–73.
Disposition: acquired by G. Petrie in 1840.
Reference: BI 161; Briggs & Dolley 1973; Dolley 1974A; Hall 1974, 77.

Dalkey, Co. Dublin, c. 1840.
69 coins known, of which 66 are Anglo-Saxon, 1 Viking, and 2 imitations.
Deposit: c. 967.
Disposition: 69 coins acquired by BM in 1843.
Reference: BI 163; Dolley 1961A; Dolley 1966, no. 110; Dolley 1974A; Hall 1974, 77; Thompson 1956, no. 115.

Derrykeighan (near Dervock), Co. Antrim, March 1843.
260 or 280 coins. 118 coins recorded, of which 116 are Anglo-Saxon, 1 Viking, and 1 Carolingian.
Deposit: c. 967.
Disposition: 31 coins or less in Belfast, others dispersed.
Reference: BI 164; Dolley 1965; Dolley 1966, no. 111; Hall 1974, 78; Seaby 1959, 248–9; Thompson 1956, no. 119.

Glendalough, Co. Wicklow, c. 1835.
'A small parcel' of Anglo-Saxon coins.
Deposit: c. 967.
Disposition: some acquired by R. Sainthill.
Reference: BI 166; Dolley 1960; Dolley 1966, no. 113; Hall 1974, 78; Thompson 1956, no. 174.

Ballycastle (Trench Farm no. 2), Co. Antrim, Jan./Feb. 1891.
Unknown number of coins.
Deposit: c. 959–73.
Disposition: dispersed.
Reference: BI 167; Warner 1975.

West of Co. Kilkenny, c. 1823.
C. 60 coins. 57 coins recorded, all Anglo-Saxon. 2 Viking coins may belong to the hoard as well.
Deposit: c. 967.
Disposition: acquired by S. Stretton.
Reference: Archibald & Blunt 1986, xxvi-xxvii; BI 170; Dolley 1966, no. 119; Dolley & Martin 159; Hall 1974, 78; Thompson 1956, no. 207.

Dysart area, Co. Westmeath, 1986.
4 coins, all Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: c. 959–73.
Disposition: dispersed.

Reference: Kenny 1987 [I am grateful to M. Kenny for information about this hoard].

Knockmaon (near Dungarven), Co. Waterford, 1912.
More than 14 coins, of which 5 Anglo-Saxon, 2 Hiberno-Norse, and 7 French.
Deposit: after c. 997.
Disposition: dispersed.
Reference: BI 195; Blackburn 1981, 53–4; Dolley 1966, no. 135; Hall 1974, 79; Jennings 1912.

Ballycastle (Trench Farm no. 1), Co. Antrim, Jan. 1891.
'Two piles' of coins (c. 300?). 17 recorded, of which 3 are Anglo-Saxon, and 13 or 14 Hiberno-Norse.
Deposit: after c. 1017.
Disposition: dispersed.
Reference: BI 218; Dolley 1962F; Dolley 1974B; Dolley & Ingold 1961B, 255–7; Warner 1975.

Unknown findspot, 1940s or earlier. Part of hoard listed above?
5 coins, all Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 975.
Disposition: sold by a London dealer in the 1940s.
Reference: BI 296, Hall 1974, 78.

8.2. Pre-reform coins of Edgar

8.2.1. Coins listed by hoards

References for finds are to Blackburn & Pagan 1986 (BI). No. 999 is used for unprovenanced coins.

FIND	NO.	TYPE	MINT	MONEYER/ (NORM.)	MONEYER/ (ACTUAL)
141	1	I	?	Acwulf	Aculf
141	22	I	?	Adalaver	Adelaver
141	1	I	?	Æscman	Asmin
141	7	I	?	Æscwulf	Æsculf
141	1	I	?	Æthelferth	Ætferd
141	1	I	?	Æthelwine	Ethelwine
141	7	I	?	Albutc	Albutic
141	16	I	?	Benedictus	Benethiht
141	1	I	?	Beornferth	Bernferth
141	13	I	?	Durand	Durand
141	23	I	?	Eanwulf	Eanulf
141	1	I	?	Eoforwulf	Eeorulf
141	14	I	?	Farthegn	Farthen
141	7	I	?	Grith	Grid
141	1	I	?	Hacuf	Hacuf
141	1	I	?	Herebeorht	Herebert
141	95	I	?	Hereger	Heriger
141	4	I	?	Hereger	Harger
141	1	I	?	Hereman	Hereman
141	8	I	?	Ifa	Ive
141	1	I	?	Igenc	Igenc
141	1	I	?	Ingalbert	Ingelbert
141	1	I	?	Ingolfr	Hingolf
141	6	I	?	Ingolfr	Ingolf
141	10	I	?	Isenbert	Isembert
141	2	I	?	Kaupman	Copman
141	4	I	?	Leofing	Levic
141	1	I	?	Maccus	Macus
141	2	I	?	Mamo	Mamolet
141	22	I	?	Manna	Manna
141	2	I	?	Manning	Manning
141	1	I	?	Morgna	Morgnan
141	1	I	?	Siduman	Sedeman
141	1	I	?	Ubeinn	Hunbein
141	7	I	?	Ubeinn	Unbein
141	3	I	?	Wigferth	Wiferth
141	1	I	?	Winemær?	Winenr
141	2	III	?	Durand	Durandes
141	1	III	?	Fastulfr	Fastolf
142	4	?	?	?	?
143	1	I	?	Benedictus	Benediht
143	1	I	?	Durand	Durand
143	2	I	?	Hereger	Heriger
144	2	I	?	Adalaver	Adelaver
144	1	I	?	Ælfsige	Ælfsige
144	1	I	?	Æscwulf	Æsculf
144	1	I	?	Beornwulf	Bernulf
144	1	I	?	Brother	Browar
144	1	I	?	Brother	Brothar
144	1	I	?	Durand	Du..nd
144	1	I	?	Eanwulf	Eanulf
144	1	I	?	Farthegn	Farthein
144	3	I	?	Grimr	Grim
144	1	I	?	Hacuf	Hacuf
144	14	I	?	Hereger	Heriger
144	1	I	?	Hereger	Harcer
144	3	I	?	Ifa	Ive
144	2	I	?	Ingolfr	Ingolf
144	1	I	?	Isenbert	Isembert
144	2	I	?	Mamo	Mamolet
144	2	I	?	Manna	Manna
144	1	I	?	Ubeinn	Hunbein
144	1	Ib	?	Beornferth?	Byrhferth
144	1	Ic	?	Ælfræd	Ælfred
144	1	Ic	?	Æthelwulf	Æthelulf
144	1	Ic	?	Boga	Boiga
144	1	Ic	?	Dominicus	Demence
144	2	Ic	?	Fredic	Frethic
144	1	Ic	?	Leofstan	Leofstan

FIND	NO.	TYPE	MINT	MONEYER/ (NORM.)	MONEYER/ (ACTUAL)
144	1	Ic	?	Sigegar	Sigares
144	2	Id	?	Ælfræd	Ælfred
144	1	Id	?	Ælfsige	Ælfsige
144	1	Id	?	Ælfsige	Ælfsig
144	2	Id	?	Eadmund	Eadmund
144	2	Id	?	Freothuric	Frothric
144	3	Id	?	Iorothr	Eoroth
144	1	Id	?	Thormothr	Thurmod
144	1	Id	?	Wærstan	Werstan
144	1	III	Chester	Ælfsige	..lfsige
144	1	III	Chester	Ælfsige	...fsig
144	2	III	Chester	Freothuric	Freotheric
144	4	III	Chester	Thormothr	Thurmod
144	1	III	Derby	Boga	Boiga
144	1	III	Exeter?	Ead Ælfstan	Ead Ælfstan
144	1	III	Northampton	Thorfrithr	Thurefrth
144	1	III	Oxford	Wulfstan	Wulfsan
144	1	III	Shaftesbury	Leofstan	Leofstan
144	1	III	Weardburh	Æthelferth	Æthelfed
144	1	III	?	Beorhtferth	Brrehtferth
144	1	III	?	Eoforheard	Eaferard
144	1	III	?	Leofhelm	Leofhelm
144	1	III	?	Osweald	Oswald
144	1	III	?	Regenfrid	Reginferth?
144	1	IV/III	?	Iorothr	Eoroth
144	2	IV	Derby	Asulfr	Osulf
144	1	IV	Derby	Boga	....a
144	2	IV	Derby	Ioli	Iole
144	1	IV	Derby	Manna	Man
144	1	IV	Derby	Othilric	Othelric
144	1	IV	Tamworth	Deorwulf	Deorulf
144	3	IV	?	Ælfsige	Ælfsige
144	2	IV	?	Ælfstan	Ælfstan
144	1	IV	?	Amundr	Amund
144	1	IV	?	Boga	Boia
144	1	IV	?	Daniel	Daniel
144	3	IV	?	Deorwulf	Deorulf
144	1	IV	?	Eadmund	Eadmund
144	1	IV	?	Eoforheard	Eaferard
144	1	IV	?	Eoforheard	Eoferard
144	2	IV	?	Eoformund	Eofermund
144	2	IV	?	Freothuric	Frothric
144	1	IV	?	Frodald	Frothald
144	1	IV	?	Gillys	Gilys
144	2	IV	?	Hildulfr	Hildulf
144	3	IV	?	Sigeferth	Siferth
144	1	IV	?	Sigeferth	Sife...
144	2	IV	?	Thormothr	Thurmod
144	1	V	Bath	Beorhtwulf	Biorthulf
144	1	V	Bedford	Ælfsige	Ælfsige
144	1	V	Huntingdon	Prim	Prim
144	1	V	?	Abenel	Abenel
144	1	V	?	Adelbrand	Æthelbrand
144	1	V	?	Ælfsige	Ælfsige
144	1	V	?	Æthelræd	Æthered
144	4	V	?	Baldwin	Baldwin
144	1	V	?	Beornferth	Byrnferth
144	3	V	?	Leofstan	Liofstan
144	1	V	?	Manna	Manne
144	1	V	?	Nordbert	Norbert
144	1	V	?	Sigeferth	Siferth
144	1	V	?	Tunwulf	Tuholf
144	1	V	?	Wulfmær	Wulfmær
144	2	V	?	Wulfstan	Wulstan
144	1	V	?	?	.....
144	1	V	? (Exeter?)	Winebeorht	Wnebirht
144	1	V	? (Totnes?)	Burhstan	Burnstan
144	1	X	London	?	?
144	1	XI	?	Oswine	Oswine
144?	1	IV	Tamworth	Spereman	Spereman
145	1	I	?	Ubeinn	Unbein
145	1	Ic	?	Leofing	Lefinc
145	1	Id	?	Freothuric	Frothric
145	1	III	?	Fastulfr	Fastolfes
145	1	III	?	Leofhelm	Leofnel
145	1	IV	?	Thormothr	Thurmod
146	1	V?	?	?	?
147	2	I	?	Adalaver	Adelaver
147	2	I	?	Albutc	Albutic
147	1	I	?	Asfrith	Asfeth
147	2	I	?	Durand	Durand
147	1	I	?	Eanwulf	Eanulf
147	1	I	?	Farthegn	Farthen
147	1	I	?	Hereger	Harcer
147	4	I	?	Hereger	Heriger
147	1	I	?	Hunræd	Hunred
147	1	I	?	Ifa	Ive
147	1	I	?	Kaupman	Copman
147	1	I	?	Manna	Manai
147	1	I	?	Morgna	Morgna
147	2	I	?	Ubeinn	Unbein
147	1	Id	?	Ælfsige	Ælfsige
147	1	Ig	?	Asleikr	Oslac
147	1	Ih	?	Hunræd	Hunred
147	1	III	Exeter	Mangod	Mangod
147	1	III	?	Beorhtnoth	Borthnoth
147	2	III	?	Durand	Durand
147	1	III	?	Eoformund	Eofermund
147	6	III	?	Fastulfr	Fastolf
147	1	III	?	Herewulf	Herolf
147	1	III	?	Wihtmund	Richtmund
147	1	III	?	Wine	Wine
147	1	III/IV	?	Freothuric	Freotheric
147	1	IV	?	Sigeferth	Siferth
147	1	IV	?	Wærstan	Werstan
148	1	I	?	Eanwulf	Eanulf
148	1	I	?	Manna	Manne
149	1	?	?	?	?
150	1	Id	?	Ælfræd	Ælfred
150	1	Id	?	Martin	Martin
152	1	I	?	Adalaver	Adelaver
152	1	I	?	Asfrith	Asferth
152	1	I	?	Farthegn	Farthein

FIND NO.		TYPE	MINT	MONEYER/ (NORM.)	MONEYER/ (ACTUAL)
152	2	I	?	Grith	Grid
152	1	I	?	Isenbert	Isembert
152	1	I	?	Ubeinn	Unbein
152	2	I	?	?	?
152	1	III	?	Herewulf	Herolfes
152	1	III	?	?	?
153	1	Id	?	Ælfræd	Ælfred
153	2	Id	?	Ælfsige	Ælfsig
153	1	Id	?	Ælfsige	Ealfsige
153	2	Id	?	Deorwulf	Deorulf
153	2	Id	?	Eadmund	Eadmund
153	2	Id	?	Eahlmund	Alhmund
153	3	Id	?	Ealdwine	Aldewine
153	2	Id	?	Freothuric	Frethric
153	4	Id	?	Freothuric	Frothric
153	1	Id	?	Freothuric	Freoric
153	2	Id	?	Gillys	Gilys
153	1	Id	?	Hrodulf	Hrodulf
153	6	Id	?	Iorothr	Eoroth
153	2	Id	?	Martin	Mertin
153	1	Id	?	Teothic	Teothuc
153	4	Id	?	Thormothr	Thurmoth
153	2	Id	?	Wærstan	Werstan
153	1	II	Chester	Thormothr	Thurmod
153	1	IV	?	Thormothr	Thurmod
154	1	Ic/Id/II	?	Ælfræd	Ælfred
154	1	?	?	?	?
155	1	I	?	Æscwulf	Æsculf
155	1	I	?	Cnapa	Cnape
155	1	I	?	Grith	Grith
155	1	Id	?	Ælfræd	Ælfred
155	1	Id	?	Freothuric	Freothric
155	1	II	Chester	Deorlaf	Deorlaf
155	1	III	Malmesbury	?	……
155	3	III	?	Fastulfr	Fastolf
155	2	III	?	Herewulf	Herolf
156	1	V	?	?	?
160	1	I	?	Adalaver	Adelaver
160	1	I	?	Grith	Grid
160	1	III	?	Fastulfr	Fastolf
163	2	I	?	Adalaver	Adelaver
163	1	I	?	Æthelsige	Æthelsige
163	1	I	?	Æthelwine	Æthelwine
163	1	I	?	Albutc	Albutic
163	1	I	?	Asfrith	Asferth
163	1	I	?	Cnapa	Cnape
163	1	I	?	Eanwulf	Eanulf
163	1	I	?	Farthegn	Farthein
163	2	I	?	Hereger	Heriger
163	2	I	?	Ifa	Ive
163	1	I	?	Isenbert	Isembert
163	2	I	?	Manna	Manna
163	1	I	?	Ubeinn	Unbeinn
163	1	Ic	?	Fredic	Frethic
163	1	Id	?	Ælfræd	Ælfred
163	1	Id	?	Ælfsige	Ælfsige
163	1	Id	?	Eadmund	Eadmund
163	1	Id	?	Ealdwine	Aldewine
163	1	Id	?	Iorothr	Eoroth
163	1	Id	?	Thormothr	Thurmod
163	1	II	Chester	Deorlaf	Deorlaf
163	1	II	Chester	Flodger	Flodger
163	1	II	Chester	Freothuric	Frothric
163	1	II	Chester	Thormothr	Thurmod
163	1	II	Tamworth	Deorwulf	Deorulf
163	1	II	Tamworth	Manna	Manna
163	1	III	Weardburh?	Ælfstan	Ælfstan
163	3	III	?	Fastulfr	Fastolf
163	2	III	?	Herewulf	Herolf
163	1	III	?	Leofhelm	Leofhelm
163	1	III	?	Leofing	Leofinc
163	1	IV	Chester	Thormothr	Thurmod
163	1	IV	?	Ealdwine	Aldewine
163	1	IV	?	Thormothr	Thurmod
163	1	IV	?	Wilsige	Wilsig
163	1	V	?	Eadmær	Eadmær
164	7	I	?	Adalaver	Adelaver
164	2	I	?	Æscwulf	Æsculf
164	1	I	?	Æthelsige	Æthelsie
164	1	I	?	Æthelwine	Adlwine
164	3	I	?	Æthelwine	Ethelwine
164	6	I	?	Albutc	Albutic
164	2	I	?	Beorhtferth	Britfer
164	1	I	?	Cawelin	Cawelin
164	2	I	?	Cnapa	Cnapa
164	2	I	?	Durand	Durand II?
164	5	I	?	Eanwulf	Eanulf
164	6	I	?	Farthegn	Fardein
164	1	I	?	Farthegn?	Capeh
164	5	I	?	Hereger	Heriger
164	7	I	?	Ifa	Ive
164	1	I	?	Ifa?	Esvi
164	1	I	?	Igenc	Igenc
164	1	I	?	Ingolfr	Ingulf
164	4	I	?	Isenbert	Isembert
164	1	I	?	Maccus	Macus
164	7	I	?	Manna	Manan II?
164	1	I	?	Morgna	Morgna
164	2	I	?	Ubeinn	Unbeinn
164	2	I	?	Wigferth	Wiferth
164	1	Ic	?	Fredic	Frethic
164	1	Ic	?	Ingalric	Ingelries
164	1	Ic?	?	Berenhard	Berenard
164	1	Id	?	Thormothr	Thurmod
164	1	Id?	?	Martin	Martin
164	1	II	Chester	Æthelhelm	Ethelm
164	1	II	Chester	Boga	Boiga
164	1	II	Chester	Freothuric	Frothric
164	1	II	Chester	Thormothr	Thurmod
164	2	II	?	Ælfsige	Ælfsig I?
164	1	III	Northampton?	Osweald	Oswald
164	1	III	Oxford	Leofsige	Leofsige
164	1	III	York	Herewulf	Herolf

FIND	NO.	TYPE	MINT	MONEYER/ (NORM.)	MONEYER/ (ACTUAL)
164	1	III	?	Durand	Durand
164	3	III	?	Fastulfr	Fastolf
164	1	III	?	Fastulfr Boga	Fastolf Boia
164	1	III	?	Hereger	Heriger
164	1	III	?	Herewulf	Herolf
164	1	IV	?	Eoforheard	Eoferard
165	9	I	?	Adalaver	Adelaver
165	1	I	?	Adalger	Adelger
165	1	I	?	Aden	Aden
165	1	I	?	Æscman	Asmane
165	1	I	?	Æscman	Asmaned
165	1	I	?	Æscwulf	Æsculf
165	1	I	?	Æthelhelm	Ethelm
165	1	I	?	Æthelsige	Æthelsig
165	2	I	?	Æthelsige	Æthelsie
165	1	I	?	Æthelstan	Æthelstan
165	1	I	?	Æthelwine	Ethelaine
165	1	I	?	Æthelwine	Athlwin
165	2	I	?	Albutc	Albutc
165	3	I	?	Albutc	Albutic
165	1	I	?	Ana	Ana
165	3	I	?	Asfrith	Asferth
165	1	I	?	Benedictus	Benethiht
165	2	I	?	Benedictus	Benediht
165	1	I	?	Beorhtferth	Britfer
165	1	I	?	Cawelin	Cawelin
165	2	I	?	Cnapa	Cnape
165	1	I	?	Durand	Durand
165	8	I	?	Eanwulf	Eanulf
165	1	I	?	Eoforwulf	Efrolf
165	2	I	?	Farthegn	Farthen
165	4	I	?	Grith	Grid
165	1	I	?	Herebeorht	Herebert
165	24	I	?	Hereger	Heriger
165	3	I	?	Hereger	Harcer
165	1	I	?	Hereman	Hereman
165	1	I	?	Hildulfr?	Hildo..
165	8	I	?	Ifa	Ive
165	3	I	?	Ingolfr	Ingolf
165	1	I	?	Isenbert	Isenbert
165	1	I	?	Kaupman	Copman
165	1	I	?	Lenna	Lenna
165	3	I	?	Manna	Manna
165	8	I	?	Manna	Manan
165	1	I	?	Manna	Manai
165	1	I	?	Manna	Mannet
165	1	I	?	Manna	Mana
165	1	I	?	Manning	Manning
165	3	I	?	Morgna	Morgemai
165	2	I	?	Ogeman	Oeeman
165	1	I	?	Renn?	Renn
165	1	I	?	Riculf	Rigolf
165	1	I	?	Siduman	Sedeman
165	8	I	?	Ubeinn	Unbein
165	1	I	?	Winemær?	Wine..
165	1	Ib	?	Sedeman	.edeman
165	1	Ic	?	Æthelwulf	Æthelulfes
165	2	Ic	?	Berenhard	Berenard
165	1	Ic	?	Hreitharr	Reghteres
165	1	Ic	?	Ioli	Ioles
165	1	Ic	?	Landferth	Lan.ferth
165	1	Ic	?	Leofman	Lefmanes
165	1	Ic	?	Manna	Manes
165	1	Ic	?	Winemær?	Winem..
165	2	Id	?	Ælfræd	Elfred
165	3	Id	?	Ælfræd	Ælfred
165	1	Id	?	Ælfsige	Ælfsig
165	1	Id	?	Deorwulf	Deorulf
165	1	Id	?	Eadmund	Eadmund
165	1	Id	?	Eahlmund	Alhmund
165	3	Id	?	Ealdwine	Aldewine
165	2	Id	?	Freothuric	Freothric
165	1	Id	?	Freothuwulf	Frothulf
165	1	Id	?	Iorothr	Edroth
165	2	Id	?	Thormothr	Thurmod
165	3	Id	?	Wærstan	Werstan
165	1	Id?	?	Freothuric	Fredric
165	1	If	?	Beorhtferth	Britfert
165	1	If	?	Manna	Manin
165	1	If	?	Wine?	…ees
165	1	Ig	?	Manna	Manin
165	1	Ii	?	Leofing	Lefinces
165	1	II	Chester	Boga	Boia
165	1	II	Chester	Deorlaf	Deorlaf
165	2	II	Chester	Gillys	Gillys
165	1	II	Chester	Gillys	Gillus
165	2	II	Chester	Mælsudan	Mælsuthan
165	1	II	Chester	Teothic	Teodulf?
165	2	II	Chester	Thormothr	Thurmod
165	1	II	Chester	Wulfgar	Wulgar
165	1	II	Chester	…	…
165	1	II	Tamworth	Manna	Monma
165	1	II	Tamworth?	Deorwulf	Deorulf
165	1	III	Chichester	Flodwin	Flodwin
165	1	III	Derby	Berenhard	Berenard
165	1	III	Derby	Fredic	Frethic
165	1	III	Exeter	Regenold?	R….old
165	1	III	London	Ælfnoth	Ælfnoth
165	1	III	London	Æthelweald	Athelwold
165	1	III	Newport Pagnall	?	….
165	1	III	Northampton	Ginard	Ginard
165	1	III	Oxford	Æthelwine	Æthelwine
165	1	III	Wallingford	?	…
165	1	III	Wilton	Osbearn	Osbearn
165	2	III	Winchester	Æthelstan	Æthestan
165	1	III	Winchester	Deall	Deal
165	1	III	?	Berenhard	Bernardes
165	4	III	?	Durand	Durandes
165	3	III	?	Durand	Durand
165	14	III	?	Fastulfr	Fastolf
165	1	III	?	Fastulfr Boga	Fastolf Boiga
165	1	III	?	Fastulfr Hrafn	Fastolf Rafn
165	1	III	?	Fastulfr Oda	Fastolf Oda

FIND	NO.	TYPE	MINT	MONEYER/ (NORM.)	MONEYER/ (ACTUAL)
165	9	III	?	Herewulf	Herolf
165	1	III	?	Ingalfred	Igolferthes
165	1	III	?	Osweald	Oswald
165	1	III	?	Th….	Th….
165	1	III	?	Thorfrithr	Thurferth
165	1	III/IV	?	Freothuric	Freotheric
165	1	IV	Derby	Fredic	Frethic
165	1	IV	Derby	Othilric	Othelric
165	1	IV	Tamworth	Deorwulf	Deorulf
165	1	IV	?	Iorothr	Eoroth
165	1	IV	?	Sigeferth	Siferth
165	1	IV	?	Sigeferth?	…ferth
165	1	IV	?	Thormothr	Thurmod
165	1	IV	?	Wilsige	Winsige?
165	1	V	London	Æthelræd	Æthered
165	1	V	?	Leofstan	Liofstan
165	1	Vc	Hertford	Manna	Ma…
165	1	VIIIa	?	?	…bold
166	1	II	Chester	Boga	Boiga
166	1	III	Wilton	Leofsige	Leofsige
166	1	III	?	Fastulfr	Fastolf
168	3	I	?	Adalaver	Adelaver
168	1	I	?	Æthelwine	Adlvne
168	1	I	?	Beorhtferth?	Brtl…
168	1	I	?	Cawelin	Cawelin
168	1	I	?	Durand	Durand
168	1	I	?	Eanwulf	Eanulf
168	1	I	?	Farman	Farman
168	1	I	?	Farthegn	Farthein
168	5	I	?	Grith	Grid
168	4	I	?	Hereger	Heriger
168	1	I	?	Hereger	Harcer
168	2	I	?	Ifa	Ive
168	3	I	?	Ingolfr	Ingolf
168	1	I	?	Kaupman	Copman
168	1	I	?	Leofing	Levll
168	1	I	?	Maccus	Macus
168	1	I	?	Mamo	Mamolet
168	1	I	?	Manna	Man
168	1	I	?	Manna	Manai
168	3	I	?	Manna	Manan
168	2	I	?	Morgna	Morgna
168	1	I	?	Ubeinn	Hunbein
168	1	I	?	Ubeinn	Unbein
168	1	I	?	Wigferth	….rth
168	2	I	?	Winemær?	Winenr
168	1	I	?	?….	Biorit…
168	1	I	?	?…	Wlf…
168	2	Id	?	Ælfsige	Ælfsig
168	1	Id	?	Sigeferth	Siferth
168	2	Id	?	Thormothr	Thurmod
168	1	Ig	?	Manna	Manin
168	1	II	Chester	Ælfsige	Ælfsig
168	1	II	Chester	Ælfstan	Ælfstan
168	1	II	Chester	Deorlaf	Dredlaf
168	1	II	Chester	Deorlaf	Deorlaf
168	1	II	Chester	Freothuric	Frothric
168	1	II	Chester	Gillys	Gyllis
168	2	II	Chester	Iorothr	Eoroth
168	1	II	Chester	Mælsudan	Melsutha
168	1	II	Chester	Manna	Man
168	1	II	Chester	Manna	Monna
168	1	II	Chester	Martin	Martin
168	1	II	Chester	Teothic	Theodic
168	2	II	Chester	Thormothr	Thurmod
168	1	II	Tamworth	Deorwulf	Deorulf
168	1	II	Tamworth	Eoforwulf	Eofrlf
168	1	II	Tamworth	Leofwine	Leofwin
168	1	II	Tamworth	Manna	Monna
168	1	III	Bedford	Grimr	Grim
168	1	III	?	Asfrith	Asferth
168	1	III	?	Dudeman	Dudeman
168	2	III	?	Durand	Durand
168	6	III	?	Fastulfr	Fastolf
168	1	III	?	Herewulf	Herolfes
168	1	III	?	Herewulf	Herolf
168	1	III	?	Leofing	Leof…
168	1	III	?	Osweald	Oswald
168	1	IV	?	Eoforheard	Eoferard
168	1	IV	?	Gillys	Gilus
168	1	V	Bedford	Ælfsige	Ælfsig
168	1	V	London	Æthelræd	Æthered
168	1	V	?	?	…
170	1	I	?	Adalaver	Adelaver
170	1	I	?	Aden	Aden
170	1	I	?	Æscwulf	Æsculf
170	2	I	?	Albutc	Albutic
170	1	I	?	Andreas	Andreas
170	1	I	?	Asfrith	Asferth
170	1	I	?	Cnapa	Cnape
170	1	I	?	Durand	Durand
170	1	I	?	Farthegn	Færthen
170	1	I	?	Hacuf	Hacolf
170	1	I	?	Hereger	Heriger
170	1	I	?	Hunræd	Hunred
170	1	I	?	Ifa	Ive
170	1	I	?	Kaupman	Copman?
170	1	I	?	Manna	Manner
170	1	I	?	Manna	Manna
170	1	I	?	Wigferth	Wiferth
170	1	Ic	?	Ingalric	Ingelri
170	1	Id	?	Ælfræd	Ælfred
170	2	Id	?	Ælfsige	Ælfsige
170	2	Id	?	Freothuric	Frothric
170	2	Id	?	Thormothr	Thurmod
170	1	Ig	?	Æthelræd	Æthered
170	1	II	Chester	Æthelhelm	Æthelm
170	1	II	Chester	Deorlaf	Deorlaf
170	1	II	Chester	Durand	Durand
170	1	II	Chester	Eadmund	Eadmund
170	1	II	Chester	Flodger	Flodger
170	1	II	Derby	Grimr	Grim
170	1	II	Tamworth	Manna	Monna

FIND NO.		TYPE	MINT	MONEYER/ (NORM.)	MONEYER/ (ACTUAL)
170	1	III	Malmesbury	Wulfric	Wulfric
170	1	III	Wilton	Eadstan	Eadstan
170	1	III	?	Durand	Durand
170	1	III	?	Fastulfr	Fastolf
170	1	IV	?	Ælfsige	Ælfsige
170	1	IV	?	Freothuric	Freotheiric
170	1	V	?	Mantat	Mantat
171	3	I	?	Adalaver	Adelaver
171	1	I	?	Adalger	Adelgar
171	1	I	?	Aden	Aden
171	1	I	?	Ælfweald	Elfwald
171	1	I	?	Æscwulf	Æsculf
171	1	I	?	Æthelferth	Ætfer
171	1	I	?	Æthelsige	Adelsie
171	1	I	?	Æthelwine	Ethelaine
171	3	I	?	Albutc	Albutc
171	1	I	?	Asfrith	Asferth
171	1	I	?	Benedictus	Benediht
171	1	I	?	Beorhtferth	Britfer
171	1	I	?	Beornwulf?	Biriiuii
171	1	I	?	Cawelin	Cawelin
171	1	I	?	Durand	Durand
171	1	I	?	Eanwulf	Eanulf
171	1	I	?	Farman	Farman
171	1	I	?	Farthegn	Farthein
171	1	I	?	Grith	Grid
171	1	I	?	Gundfrid	Gunverd
171	1	I	?	Hacuf	Hacuf
171	4	I	?	Hereger	Heriger
171	2	I	?	Hereman	Hereman
171	4	I	?	Ifa	Ive
171	1	I	?	Ingolfr	Ingolf
171	4	I	?	Kaupman	Copman
171	1	I	?	Lenna	Lenna
171	1	I	?	Leofing	Lefinc?
171	1	I	?	Maccus	Macus
171	1	I	?	Manna	Mana
171	1	I	?	Manna	Manai
171	1	I	?	Morgna	Morgna
171	1	I	?	Ogeman	Ogeman
171	2	I	?	Riculf	Ricolf
171	1	I	?	Siduman	Sedeman
171	2	I	?	Ubeinn	Hunbein
171	1	I	?	Winemær?	Winenr
171	1	Ic	?	Ioli	Ioles
171	1	Ic	?	Osweard	Oswardes
171	2	Id	?	Ælfræd	Ælfred
171	1	Id	?	Ælfsige	Ealfsige
171	1	Id	?	Æthelhelm	Æthelm
171	1	Id	?	Eahlmund	Alhmund
171	2	Id	?	Ealdwine	Aldewine
171	3	Id	?	Freothuric	Freothric
171	1	Id	?	Gillys	Gillys
171	1	Id	?	Iorothr	Eoroth
171	1	Id	?	Sigeferth	Siferth
171	1	Id	?	Wærstan	Werstan
171	1	II	Chester	Ælfstan	Ælfstan
171	1	II	Chester	Deorlaf	Deorlaf
171	1	II	Chester	Eadmund	Eadmund
171	1	II	Chester	Freothuric	Frothrc
171	1	II	Chester	Leofstan	Leofstan
171	1	II	Chester	Mælsudan	Melsutha
171	2	II	Chester	Teothic	Theoduc
171	1	III	Bath	Æthelric	Æthelric
171	1	III	Bath	Æthelsige	Æthelsige
171	1	III	Wallingford	Heremod	Heremod
171	2	III	?	Durand	Durand
171	7	III	?	Fastulfr	Fastolf
171	1	III	?	Fastulfr Boga	Fastolf Boiga
171	1	III	?	Fastulfr Oda	Fastolf Oda
171	1	III	?	Grith	Grid
171	7	III	?	Herewulf	Herolf
171	1	III	?	Ingalfred	Igolferthes
171	1	IV	Chester	Eadmund	Eadmund
171	1	IV	Chester	Thormothr	….moth
171	1	IV	?	Eoformund	Eofermund
171	1	V	?	Folchard	Folchard
173	1	II	Chester	Ealdwine	Aldewine
180	3	I	?	Acwulf	Aculf
180	11	I	?	Adalaver	Adelaver
180	1	I	?	Æscman	Asmneda
180	4	I	?	Æscwulf	Æsculf
180	2	I	?	Æthelwine	Ethelaine
180	1	I	?	Æthelwine	Adlwine
180	5	I	?	Albutc	Albutc
180	3	I	?	Benedictus	Benethiht
180	1	I	?	Beornferth	Bernferth
180	1	I	?	Cawelin	Cawelin
180	1	I	?	Cnapa	Cnapa
180	3	I	?	Durand	Durand
180	6	I	?	Eanwulf	Eanulf
180	3	I	?	Eoforwulf	Efrolf
180	2	I	?	Farman	Farman
180	5	I	?	Farthegn	Farthein
180	1	I	?	Fugolta	Fugetat
180	10	I	?	Grith	Grid
180	1	I	?	Gundfrid	Gunfred
180	1	I	?	Hacuf	Hacuf
180	1	I	?	Herebeorht	Herebert
180	23	I	?	Hereger	Heriger
180	7	I	?	Ifa	Ive
180	1	I	?	Ingolfr	Ingolf
180	2	I	?	Kaupman	Copman
180	1	I	?	Leofing	Levic
180	1	I	?	Maccus	Macus
180	14	I	?	Manna	Manan
180	3	I	?	Randwin	Ranuywi
180	1	I	?	Siduman	Sedeman
180	1	I	?	Smala	Ismala
180	6	I	?	Ubeinn	Unbein
180	1	I	?	Wigferth	Wi….. (Edgar?)
180	1	I	?	Wynstan?	Ristan
180	1	Ic	?	Asfrith	Osferth

FIND NO.		TYPE	MINT	MONEYER/ (NORM.)	MONEYER/ (ACTUAL)
180	1	Ic	?	Dominicus	Demence
180	1	Ic	?	Landferth	Landferth
180	1	Ic	?	Manna	Manna
180	2	Ic	?	Wulfgar	Wulfgares
180	1	Ic?	?	Othilric	Othe....
180	1	Id	?	Ælfræd	Ælfred
180	1	Id	?	Ælfsige	Ælfsige
180	1	Id	?	Æthelhelm	Æthelm
180	1	Id	?	Deorwulf	Deorulf
180	1	Id	?	Eahlmund	Ahlmund
180	1	Id	?	Ealdwine	Aldewine
180	4	Id	?	Freothuric	Freothric
180	1	Id	?	Iorothr	Eoroth
180	1	Id	?	Martin	Mærtin
180	2	Id	?	Sigeferth	Siferth
180	4	Id	?	Thormothr	Thurmod
180	3	Id	?	Wærstan	Werstan
180	1	II	Chester	Ælfstan	Ælfstan
180	2	II	Chester	Deorlaf	Deorlaf
180	1	II	Chester	Durand	Duran
180	2	II	Chester	Ealdwine	Aldewin
180	1	II	Chester	Iorothr	Eoroth
180	1	II	Chester	Martin	Mærtin
180	1	II	Chester	Thormothr	Thurmod
180	1	II	Tamworth	Eoforwulf	Eofrcc..
180	1	II	?	Ælfræd	Ælfred
180	1	III	Canterbury	Boga	Boia
180	1	III	Wallingford	Eadwine	Eadwine
180	1	III	Winchester?	Freothumund	Frithemund
180	1	III	?	Wigferth?	.iferth
180	6	III	?	Durand	Durand
180	27	III	?	Fastulfr	Fastolf
180	1	III	?	Hereger?	.....eres (Edgar?)
180	9	III	?	Herewulf	Herolf
180	1	III	?	Ingalfred	Igolferthes
180	2	III/IV	?	Freothuric	Freotheric
180	1	IV	?	Freothuric	Freotheric
180	1	IV	?	Sigeferth	Siferth
180	1	IV	?	Wilsige	Wilsig
180	2	V	?	Baldwin	Baldwin
180	1	VIII	Lympne	Beorhtnoth	Byrhtnoth
190	1	II	Chester	Flodger	Flodger
192	1	I	?	Æthelwine	Ethelaine
192	1	I	?	Grith	Grid
192	2	I	?	Hereger	Heriger
193	1	I	?	Ifa	Ive
194	1	I	?	Ælfweald	Elfwal
194	1	I	?	Eanwulf	Eanulf
194	1	I	?	Grith	Grid
194	1	I	?	Hereger	Heriger
194	1	I	?	Ifa	Ive
194	1	I	?	Ubeinn	Unbein
194	2	III	?	Fastulfr	Fastolf
194	2	III	?	Herewulf	Herolf
195	1	I	?	Æscman	Asman
195	1	I	?	Albutc	Albutc
195	1	I	?	Farthegn	.ar..in (Edgar?)
195	1	Id	?	Thormothr	Th..mod
195	4	?	?	?	?
218	1	?	?	?	?
248	1	I	?	Æthelwine	Ethelville
248	1	I	?	Albutc	Albutc
248	1	I	?	Ingolfr	Ingolf
248	2	III	?	Fastulfr	Fastolf
296	1	I	?	Beorhtferth	Brihtfer
296	1	I	?	Farthegn	Farthine
296	1	I	?	?	Cylilgn
296	1	Ic	?	Leofman	Lefmanes
999	1	I	?	Æthelræd	Æthelred
999	1	I	?	Æthelweard	Adelverd
999	1	I	?	Æthelwulf	Adellolf
999	1	I	?	Godfrid	Godeferth
999	1	I	?	Hild	Hilde
999	1	I	?	Landferth	Loandferth
999	1	I	?	Martin	Martin
999	1	I	?	Reinard	Reinad
999	1	I	?	Sigeferth	Sigefreth
999	1	I	?	Wulfstan	Wulfstan
999	1	Ia	?	Ælfstan	Ælfstan
999	1	Ia	?	Herewulf	Herulf
999	1	Ia	?	Kolgrimr	Colgrim
999	1	Ia	?	Sekrlauss	Serclos
999	1	Ia	?	Sumarlithr	Sumerleda
999	1	Ib	?	Beorhtric	Beorhtric
999	1	Ib	?	Beorhtwulf	Biorhtulf
999	2	Ic	?	Ælfstan	Ælfstan
999	2	Ic	?	Æthelræd	Æthelred
999	1	Ic	?	Asulfr	Osulf
999	3	Ic	?	Ealdwine	Aldewine
999	1	Ic	?	Eoformund	Eofermund
999	1	Ic	?	Grimbert?	Grimter
999	2	Ic	?	Gunnarr	Guner
999	1	Ic	?	Ingalbert	Ingelberd
999	1	Ic	?	Leofhelm	Leofhelm
999	2	Ic	?	Othilric	Othelries
999	1	Ic	?	Rædwine	Redwine
999	2	Ic	?	Uglubarthr	Ugelberd
999	1	Ic	?	Winemær?	Winemes
999	1	Ic	?	Wulfstan	Wulfstan
999	1	Ic	?	Wulfweard?	Vvalfserd
999	1	Id	?	Gunnarr	Gunar
999	1	Id	?	Leofstan	Leofstan
999	1	Id	?	Othilric?	Othelariht
999	1	Id	?	Theodræd	Teodred
999	1	Ie	?	Heremod	Heremod
999	1	Ie	?	Thorfrithr	Thurferth
999	1	If	?	Landferth	Loandferth
999	1	If	?	Wine	Winees
999	1	If	?	Winemær?	Winemes
999	1	Ig	?	Asfrith	Osferth
999	1	Ig	?	Uglubarthr	Ugelberd
999	1	Ii	?	Æthelwine	Ethelwine
999	1	Ii	?	Meinard	Meinard

FIND NO.		TYPE	MINT	MONEYER/ (NORM.)	MONEYER/ (ACTUAL)
999	1	Ij	?	Manna	Manin
999	1	II	Chester	Authketill?	Oucel mthe
999	1	II	Derby	Boga	Boga
999	1	III	...	Oswine	Oswine
999	1	III	Bath	Æthelferth	Æthelferth
999	1	III	Bath	Beornferth	Byrnferth
999	1	III	Bath	Wulfbeald	Wulfbald
999	2	III	Buckingham	Tunwulf	Tunulf
999	1	III	Chester	Iorothr	Eoroth
999	1	III	Chichester?	Cynesige	Cynsige
999	1	III	London	Æthelræd	Æthelred
999	1	III	London	Æthelsige	Æthelsige
999	1	III	Newport Pagnall	Ælfsige	Ælfsige
999	1	III	Northampton	Baldric	Baldric
999	1	III	Northampton	Eadwulf	Eadwulf
999	1	III	Northampton	Mantat	Mantat
999	1	III	Northampton	Radulf	Rathulf
999	1	III	Oxford	Wynhelm	Wynnelm
999	2	III	Tamworth	Deorwulf	Deorwulf
999	1	III	Tamworth	Eoformund	Eofermund
999	1	III	Totnes	Wynstan	Wynstan
999	1	III	Wallingford	Beorhtric	Beorhtric
999	1	III	Warwick	Osweard	O.....
999	1	III	Wilton	Leofweald	Leofwold
999	1	III	Winchester	Ælfsige	Ælfsige
999	2	III	Winchester	Eadstan	Eadstan
999	1	III	Winchester	Rodbert	Rodbriht
999	1	III	Winchester	Wihtsige	Wihtsige
999	1	III	Winchester	Wulfsige	Wulfsige
999	1	III	Winchester	Wynsige	Wynsige
999	1	III	?	Ælfsige	Ælfsige
999	1	III	?	Æthelsige	Æthelsige
999	1	III	?	Baldric	Baldric
999	1	III	?	Burhstan	Burhstan
999	1	III	?	Gunnarr	Gunar
999	1	III	?	Heardbeorht	Hardbrit
999	1	III	?	Mantat	Mantat
999	1	III	?	Seleweald	Selewold
999	2	III	?	Thorfrithr	Thurferth
999	1	III	?	Wærin	Wærin
999	1	III	?	Wulfstan?	Wviftan
999	1	III	?	Wynstan	Bunstan
999	1	IV	Stafford	Amundr	Amund
999	2	IV	Tamworth	Eoformund	Eofermund
999	1	V	Bedford	Forthgar	Forthgar
999	2	V	Bedford	Grimr	Grim
999	2	V	Bedford	Leofstan	Liofstan
999	1	V	Hertford	Abenel	Abenel
999	1	V	Huntingdon?	Duding	Dudinc
999	3	V	London	Ælfnoth	Ælfnoth
999	1	V	London	Æthelferth	Æthelferth
999	1	V	London	Æthelwulf	Athulf
999	2	V	London	Beorhtsige	Bircsige
999	2	V	London	Hildwine	Hiltwine
999	2	V	Thetford	Æthelferth	Ælferth
999	1	V	?	Albert?	Albe..
999	2	V	?	Asfrith	Osferth
999	1	V	?	Boga	Boga
999	1	V	?	Bruning	Bruninc
999	1	V	?	Manticen	Manticen
999	1	V	?	Saydtinc	Saydtinc
999	1	V	?	Sprok	Sprok
999	1	V	?	Thorketill	Thurcetel
999	1	Vc	Hertford?	Wulfmær	Wulfmær
999	1	Vc	?	Beornferth	Byrnferth
999	1	VII	?	Osweald	Oswald
999	1	IX	Chichester	?	?
999	1	XI	?	Hildulfr	Hildulf
999	1	XII	Winchester	?	?

8.2.2. Coins listed by types

FIND NO.		TYPE	MINT	MONEYER/ (NORM.)	MONEYER/ (ACTUAL)
141	1	I	?	Acwulf	Aculf
180	3	I	?	Acwulf	Aculf
141	22	I	?	Adalaver	Adelaver
144	2	I	?	Adalaver	Adelaver
147	2	I	?	Adalaver	Adelaver
152	1	I	?	Adalaver	Adelaver
160	1	I	?	Adalaver	Adelaver
163	2	I	?	Adalaver	Adelaver
164	7	I	?	Adalaver	Adelaver
165	9	I	?	Adalaver	Adelaver
168	3	I	?	Adalaver	Adelaver
170	1	I	?	Adalaver	Adelaver
171	3	I	?	Adalaver	Adelaver
180	11	I	?	Adalaver	Adelaver
165	1	I	?	Adalger	Adelger
171	1	I	?	Adalger	Adelgar
165	1	I	?	Aden	Aden
170	1	I	?	Aden	Aden
171	1	I	?	Aden	Aden
144	1	I	?	Ælfsige	Ælfsige
171	1	I	?	Ælfweald	Elfwald
194	1	I	?	Ælfweald	Elfwal
141	1	I	?	Æscman	Asmin
165	1	I	?	Æscman	Asmane
165	1	I	?	Æscman	Asmaned
180	1	I	?	Æscman	Asmneda
195	1	I	?	Æscman	Asman
141	7	I	?	Æscwulf	Æsculf
144	1	I	?	Æscwulf	Æsculf
155	1	I	?	Æscwulf	Æsculf
164	2	I	?	Æscwulf	Æsculf
165	1	I	?	Æscwulf	Æsculf
170	1	I	?	Æscwulf	Æsculf
171	1	I	?	Æscwulf	Æsculf
180	4	I	?	Æscwulf	Æsculf
141	1	I	?	Æthelferth	Ætferd
171	1	I	?	Æthelferth	Ætfer

FIND	NO.	TYPE	MINT	MONEYER/ (NORM.)	MONEYER/ (ACTUAL)
165	1	I	?	Æthelhelm	Ethelm
999	1	I	?	Æthelræd	Æthelred
163	1	I	?	Æthelsige	Æthelsige
164	1	I	?	Æthelsige	Æthelsie
165	1	I	?	Æthelsige	Æthelsig
165	2	I	?	Æthelsige	Æthelsie
171	1	I	?	Æthelsige	Adelsie
165	1	I	?	Æthelstan	Æthelstan
999	1	I	?	Æthelweard	Adelverd
141	1	I	?	Æthelwine	Ethelwine
163	1	I	?	Æthelwine	Æthelwine
164	1	I	?	Æthelwine	Adlwine
164	3	I	?	Æthelwine	Ethelwine
165	1	I	?	Æthelwine	Ethelaine
165	1	I	?	Æthelwine	Athlwin
168	1	I	?	Æthelwine	Adlvne
171	1	I	?	Æthelwine	Ethelaine
180	2	I	?	Æthelwine	Ethelaine
180	1	I	?	Æthelwine	Adlwine
192	1	I	?	Æthelwine	Ethelaine
248	1	I	?	Æthelwine	Ethelville
999	1	I	?	Æthelwulf	Adellolf
141	7	I	?	Albutc	Albutic
147	2	I	?	Albutc	Albutic
163	1	I	?	Albutc	Albutic
164	6	I	?	Albutc	Albutic
165	3	I	?	Albutc	Albutic
165	2	I	?	Albutc	Albutc
170	2	I	?	Albutc	Albutic
171	3	I	?	Albutc	Albutc
180	5	I	?	Albutc	Albutc
195	1	I	?	Albutc	Albutc
248	1	I	?	Albutc	Albutc
165	1	I	?	Ana	Ana
170	1	I	?	Andreas	Andreas
147	1	I	?	Asfrith	Asfeth
152	1	I	?	Asfrith	Asferth
163	1	I	?	Asfrith	Asferth
165	3	I	?	Asfrith	Asferth
170	1	I	?	Asfrith	Asferth
171	1	I	?	Asfrith	Asferth
141	16	I	?	Benedictus	Benethiht
143	1	I	?	Benedictus	Benediht
165	1	I	?	Benedictus	Benethiht
165	2	I	?	Benedictus	Benediht
171	1	I	?	Benedictus	Benediht
180	3	I	?	Benedictus	Benethiht
164	2	I	?	Beorhtferth	Britfer
165	1	I	?	Beorhtferth	Britfer
171	1	I	?	Beorhtferth	Britfer
296	1	I	?	Beorhtferth	Brihtfer
168	1	I	?	Beorhtferth?	Brtl...
141	1	I	?	Beornferth	Bernferth
180	1	I	?	Beornferth	Bernferth
144	1	I	?	Beornwulf	Bernulf
171	1	I	?	Beornwulf?	Biriiuii
144	1	I	?	Brother	Brothar
144	1	I	?	Brother	Browar
164	1	I	?	Cawelin	Cawelin
165	1	I	?	Cawelin	Cawelin
168	1	I	?	Cawelin	Cawelin
171	1	I	?	Cawelin	Cawelin
180	1	I	?	Cawelin	Cawelin
155	1	I	?	Cnapa	Cnape
163	1	I	?	Cnapa	Cnape
164	2	I	?	Cnapa	Cnapa
165	2	I	?	Cnapa	Cnape
170	1	I	?	Cnapa	Cnape
180	1	I	?	Cnapa	Cnapa
141	13	I	?	Durand	Durand
143	1	I	?	Durand	Durand
144	1	I	?	Durand	Du..nd
147	2	I	?	Durand	Durand
164	2	I	?	Durand	Durand (II?)
165	1	I	?	Durand	Durand
168	1	I	?	Durand	Durand
170	1	I	?	Durand	Durand
171	1	I	?	Durand	Durand
180	3	I	?	Durand	Durand
141	23	I	?	Eanwulf	Eanulf
144	1	I	?	Eanwulf	Eanulf
147	1	I	?	Eanwulf	Eanulf
148	1	I	?	Eanwulf	Eanulf
163	1	I	?	Eanwulf	Eanulf
164	5	I	?	Eanwulf	Eanulf
165	8	I	?	Eanwulf	Eanulf
168	1	I	?	Eanwulf	Eanulf
171	1	I	?	Eanwulf	Eanulf
180	6	I	?	Eanwulf	Eanulf
194	1	I	?	Eanwulf	Eanulf
141	1	I	?	Eoforwulf	Eeorulf
165	1	I	?	Eoforwulf	Efrolf
180	3	I	?	Eoforwulf	Efrolf
168	1	I	?	Farman	Farman
171	1	I	?	Farman	Farman
180	2	I	?	Farman	Farman
141	14	I	?	Farthegn	Farthen
144	1	I	?	Farthegn	Farthein
147	1	I	?	Farthegn	Farthen
152	1	I	?	Farthegn	Farthein
163	1	I	?	Farthegn	Farthein
164	6	I	?	Farthegn	Fardein
165	2	I	?	Farthegn	Farthen
168	1	I	?	Farthegn	Farthein
170	1	I	?	Farthegn	Færthen
171	1	I	?	Farthegn	Farthein
180	5	I	?	Farthegn	Farthein
195	1	I	?	Farthegn	.ar..in (Edgar?)
296	1	I	?	Farthegn	Farthine
164	1	I	?	Farthegn?	Capeh
180	1	I	?	Fugolta	Fugetat
999	1	I	?	Godfrid	Godeferth
144	3	I	?	Grimr	Grim

FIND NO.		TYPE	MINT	MONEYER/ (NORM.)	MONEYER/ (ACTUAL)
141	7	I	?	Grith	Grid
152	2	I	?	Grith	Grid
155	1	I	?	Grith	Grith
160	1	I	?	Grith	Grid
165	4	I	?	Grith	Grid
168	5	I	?	Grith	Grid
171	1	I	?	Grith	Grid
180	10	I	?	Grith	Grid
192	1	I	?	Grith	Grid
194	1	I	?	Grith	Grid
171	1	I	?	Gundfrid	Gunverd
180	1	I	?	Gundfrid	Gunfred
141	1	I	?	Hacuf	Hacuf
144	1	I	?	Hacuf	Hacuf
170	1	I	?	Hacuf	Hacolf
171	1	I	?	Hacuf	Hacuf
180	1	I	?	Hacuf	Hacuf
141	1	I	?	Herebeorht	Herebert
165	1	I	?	Herebeorht	Herebert
180	1	I	?	Herebeorht	Herebert
141	4	I	?	Hereger	Harger
141	95	I	?	Hereger	Heriger
143	2	I	?	Hereger	Heriger
144	14	I	?	Hereger	Heriger
144	1	I	?	Hereger	Harcer
147	4	I	?	Hereger	Heriger
147	1	I	?	Hereger	Harcer
163	2	I	?	Hereger	Heriger
164	5	I	?	Hereger	Heriger
165	3	I	?	Hereger	Harcer
165	24	I	?	Hereger	Heriger
168	4	I	?	Hereger	Heriger
168	1	I	?	Hereger	Harcer
170	1	I	?	Hereger	Heriger
171	4	I	?	Hereger	Heriger
180	23	I	?	Hereger	Heriger
192	2	I	?	Hereger	Heriger
194	1	I	?	Hereger	Heriger
141	1	I	?	Hereman	Hereman
165	1	I	?	Hereman	Hereman
171	2	I	?	Hereman	Hereman
999	1	I	?	Hild	Hilde
165	1	I	?	Hildulfr?	Hildo..
147	1	I	?	Hunræd	Hunred
170	1	I	?	Hunræd	Hunred
141	8	I	?	Ifa	Ive
144	3	I	?	Ifa	Ive
147	1	I	?	Ifa	Ive
163	2	I	?	Ifa	Ive
164	7	I	?	Ifa	Ive
165	8	I	?	Ifa	Ive
168	2	I	?	Ifa	Ive
170	1	I	?	Ifa	Ive
171	4	I	?	Ifa	Ive
180	7	I	?	Ifa	Ive
193	1	I	?	Ifa	Ive
194	1	I	?	Ifa	Ive
164	1	I	?	Ifa?	Esvi
141	1	I	?	Igenc	Igenc
164	1	I	?	Igenc	Igenc
141	1	I	?	Ingalbert	Ingelbert
141	1	I	?	Ingolfr	Hingolf
141	6	I	?	Ingolfr	Ingolf
144	2	I	?	Ingolfr	Ingolf
164	1	I	?	Ingolfr	Ingulf
165	3	I	?	Ingolfr	Ingolf
168	3	I	?	Ingolfr	Ingolf
171	1	I	?	Ingolfr	Ingolf
180	1	I	?	Ingolfr	Ingolf
248	1	I	?	Ingolfr	Ingolf
141	10	I	?	Isenbert	Isembert
144	1	I	?	Isenbert	Isembert
152	1	I	?	Isenbert	Isembert
163	1	I	?	Isenbert	Isembert
164	4	I	?	Isenbert	Isembert
165	1	I	?	Isenbert	Isenbert
141	2	I	?	Kaupman	Copman
147	1	I	?	Kaupman	Copman
165	1	I	?	Kaupman	Copman
168	1	I	?	Kaupman	Copman
170	1	I	?	Kaupman	Copman?
171	4	I	?	Kaupman	Copman
180	2	I	?	Kaupman	Copman
999	1	I	?	Landferth	Loandferth
165	1	I	?	Lenna	Lenna
171	1	I	?	Lenna	Lenna
141	4	I	?	Leofing	Levic
168	1	I	?	Leofing	Levll
171	1	I	?	Leofing	Lefinc?
180	1	I	?	Leofing	Levic
141	1	I	?	Maccus	Macus
164	1	I	?	Maccus	Macus
168	1	I	?	Maccus	Macus
171	1	I	?	Maccus	Macus
180	1	I	?	Maccus	Macus
141	2	I	?	Mamo	Mamolet
144	2	I	?	Mamo	Mamolet
168	1	I	?	Mamo	Mamolet
141	22	I	?	Manna	Manna
144	2	I	?	Manna	Manna
147	1	I	?	Manna	Manai
148	1	I	?	Manna	Manne
163	2	I	?	Manna	Manna
164	7	I	?	Manna	Manan (II?)
165	1	I	?	Manna	Mannet
165	8	I	?	Manna	Manan
165	3	I	?	Manna	Manna
165	1	I	?	Manna	Manai
165	1	I	?	Manna	Mana
168	3	I	?	Manna	Manan
168	1	I	?	Manna	Manai
168	1	I	?	Manna	Man
170	1	I	?	Manna	Manna

FIND NO.		TYPE	MINT	MONEYER/ (NORM.)	MONEYER/ (ACTUAL)
170	1	I	?	Manna	Manner
171	1	I	?	Manna	Mana
171	1	I	?	Manna	Manai
180	14	I	?	Manna	Manan
141	2	I	?	Manning	Manning
165	1	I	?	Manning	Manning
999	1	I	?	Martin	Martin
141	1	I	?	Morgna	Morgnan
147	1	I	?	Morgna	Morgna
164	1	I	?	Morgna	Morgna
165	3	I	?	Morgna	Morgemai
168	2	I	?	Morgna	Morgna
171	1	I	?	Morgna	Morgna
165	2	I	?	Ogeman	Oeeman
171	1	I	?	Ogeman	Ogeman
180	3	I	?	Randwin	Ranuywi
999	1	I	?	Reinard	Reinad
165	1	I	?	Renn?	Renn
165	1	I	?	Riculf	Rigolf
171	2	I	?	Riculf	Ricolf
141	1	I	?	Siduman	Sedeman
165	1	I	?	Siduman	Sedeman
171	1	I	?	Siduman	Sedeman
180	1	I	?	Siduman	Sedeman
999	1	I	?	Sigeferth	Sigefreth
180	1	I	?	Smala	Ismala
141	7	I	?	Ubeinn	Unbein
141	1	I	?	Ubeinn	Hunbein
144	1	I	?	Ubeinn	Hunbein
145	1	I	?	Ubeinn	Unbein
147	2	I	?	Ubeinn	Unbein
152	1	I	?	Ubeinn	Unbein
163	1	I	?	Ubeinn	Unbeinn
164	2	I	?	Ubeinn	Unbeinn
165	8	I	?	Ubeinn	Unbein
168	1	I	?	Ubeinn	Hunbein
168	1	I	?	Ubeinn	Unbein
171	2	I	?	Ubeinn	Hunbein
180	6	I	?	Ubeinn	Unbein
194	1	I	?	Ubeinn	Unbein
141	3	I	?	Wigferth	Wiferth
164	2	I	?	Wigferth	Wiferth
168	1	I	?	Wigferth	….rth
170	1	I	?	Wigferth	Wiferth
180	1	I	?	Wigferth	Wi….. (Edgar?)
141	1	I	?	Winemær?	Winenr
165	1	I	?	Winemær?	Wine..
168	2	I	?	Winemær?	Winenr
171	1	I	?	Winemær?	Winenr
999	1	I	?	Wulfstan	Wulfstan
180	1	I	?	Wynstan?	Ristan
152	2	I	?	?	?
296	1	I	?	?	Cylilgn
168	1	I	?	?….	Biorit…
168	1	I	?	?…	Wlf…
999	1	Ia	?	Ælfstan	Ælfstan
999	1	Ia	?	Herewulf	Herulf
999	1	Ia	?	Kolgrimr	Colgrim
999	1	Ia	?	Sekrlauss	Serclos
999	1	Ia	?	Sumarlithr	Sumerleda
999	1	Ib	?	Beorhtric	Beorhtric
999	1	Ib	?	Beorhtwulf	Biorhtulf
144	1	Ib	?	Beornferth?	Byrhferth
165	1	Ib	?	Sedeman	.edeman
144	1	Ic	?	Ælfræd	Ælfred
999	2	Ic	?	Ælfstan	Ælfstan
999	2	Ic	?	Æthelræd	Æthelred
144	1	Ic	?	Æthelwulf	Æthelulf
165	1	Ic	?	Æthelwulf	Æthelulfes
180	1	Ic	?	Asfrith	Osferth
999	1	Ic	?	Asulfr	Osulf
165	2	Ic	?	Berenhard	Berenard
144	1	Ic	?	Boga	Boiga
144	1	Ic	?	Dominicus	Demence
180	1	Ic	?	Dominicus	Demence
999	3	Ic	?	Ealdwine	Aldewine
999	1	Ic	?	Eoformund	Eofermund
144	2	Ic	?	Fredic	Frethic
163	1	Ic	?	Fredic	Frethic
164	1	Ic	?	Fredic	Frethic
999	1	Ic	?	Grimbert?	Grimter
999	2	Ic	?	Gunnarr	Guner
165	1	Ic	?	Hreitharr	Reghteres
999	1	Ic	?	Ingalbert	Ingelberd
164	1	Ic	?	Ingalric	Ingelries
170	1	Ic	?	Ingalric	Ingelri
165	1	Ic	?	Ioli	Ioles
171	1	Ic	?	Ioli	Ioles
165	1	Ic	?	Landferth	Lan.ferth
180	1	Ic	?	Landferth	Landferth
999	1	Ic	?	Leofhelm	Leofhelm
145	1	Ic	?	Leofing	Lefinc
165	1	Ic	?	Leofman	Lefmanes
296	1	Ic	?	Leofman	Lefmanes
144	1	Ic	?	Leofstan	Leofstan
165	1	Ic	?	Manna	Manes
180	1	Ic	?	Manna	Manna
171	1	Ic	?	Osweard	Oswardes
999	2	Ic	?	Othilric	Othelries
999	1	Ic	?	Rædwine	Redwine
144	1	Ic	?	Sigegar	Sigares
999	2	Ic	?	Uglubarthr	Ugelberd
165	1	Ic	?	Winemær?	Winem..
999	1	Ic	?	Winemær?	Winemes
180	2	Ic	?	Wulfgar	Wulfgares
999	1	Ic	?	Wulfstan	Wulfstan
999	1	Ic	?	Wulfweard?	Vvalfserd
164	1	Ic?	?	Berenhard	Berenard
180	1	Ic?	?	Othilric	Othe….
154	1	Ic/Id/II	?	Ælfræd	Ælfred
144	2	Id	?	Ælfræd	Ælfred
150	1	Id	?	Ælfræd	Ælfred
153	1	Id	?	Ælfræd	Ælfred

FIND NO.		TYPE	MINT	MONEYER/ (NORM.)	MONEYER/ (ACTUAL)
155	1	Id	?	Ælfræd	Ælfred
163	1	Id	?	Ælfræd	Ælfred
165	2	Id	?	Ælfræd	Elfred
165	3	Id	?	Ælfræd	Ælfred
170	1	Id	?	Ælfræd	Ælfred
171	2	Id	?	Ælfræd	Ælfred
180	1	Id	?	Ælfræd	Ælfred
144	1	Id	?	Ælfsige	Ælfsige
144	1	Id	?	Ælfsige	Ælfsig
147	1	Id	?	Ælfsige	Ælfsige
153	2	Id	?	Ælfsige	Ælfsig
153	1	Id	?	Ælfsige	Ealfsige
163	1	Id	?	Ælfsige	Ælfsige
165	1	Id	?	Ælfsige	Ælfsig
168	2	Id	?	Ælfsige	Ælfsig
170	2	Id	?	Ælfsige	Ælfsige
171	1	Id	?	Ælfsige	Ealfsige
180	1	Id	?	Ælfsige	Ælfsige
171	1	Id	?	Æthelhelm	Æthelm
180	1	Id	?	Æthelhelm	Æthelm
153	2	Id	?	Deorwulf	Deorulf
165	1	Id	?	Deorwulf	Deorulf
180	1	Id	?	Deorwulf	Deorulf
144	2	Id	?	Eadmund	Eadmund
153	2	Id	?	Eadmund	Eadmund
163	1	Id	?	Eadmund	Eadmund
165	1	Id	?	Eadmund	Eadmund
153	2	Id	?	Eahlmund	Alhmund
165	1	Id	?	Eahlmund	Alhmund
171	1	Id	?	Eahlmund	Alhmund
180	1	Id	?	Eahlmund	Ahlmund
153	3	Id	?	Ealdwine	Aldewine
163	1	Id	?	Ealdwine	Aldewine
165	3	Id	?	Ealdwine	Aldewine
171	2	Id	?	Ealdwine	Aldewine
180	1	Id	?	Ealdwine	Aldewine
144	2	Id	?	Freothuric	Frothric
145	1	Id	?	Freothuric	Frothric
153	1	Id	?	Freothuric	Freoric
153	4	Id	?	Freothuric	Frothric
153	2	Id	?	Freothuric	Frethric
155	1	Id	?	Freothuric	Freothric
165	2	Id	?	Freothuric	Freothric
170	2	Id	?	Freothuric	Frothric
171	3	Id	?	Freothuric	Freothric
180	4	Id	?	Freothuric	Freothric
165	1	Id	?	Freothuwulf	Frothulf
153	2	Id	?	Gillys	Gilys
171	1	Id	?	Gillys	Gillys
999	1	Id	?	Gunnarr	Gunar
153	1	Id	?	Hrodulf	Hrodulf
144	3	Id	?	Iorothr	Eoroth
153	6	Id	?	Iorothr	Eoroth
163	1	Id	?	Iorothr	Eoroth
165	1	Id	?	Iorothr	Edroth
171	1	Id	?	Iorothr	Eoroth
180	1	Id	?	Iorothr	Eoroth
999	1	Id	?	Leofstan	Leofstan
150	1	Id	?	Martin	Martin
153	2	Id	?	Martin	Mertin
180	1	Id	?	Martin	Mærtin
999	1	Id	?	Othilric?	Othelariht
168	1	Id	?	Sigeferth	Siferth
171	1	Id	?	Sigeferth	Siferth
180	2	Id	?	Sigeferth	Siferth
153	1	Id	?	Teothic	Teothuc
999	1	Id	?	Theodræd	Teodred
144	1	Id	?	Thormothr	Thurmod
153	4	Id	?	Thormothr	Thurmoth
163	1	Id	?	Thormothr	Thurmod
164	1	Id	?	Thormothr	Thurmod
165	2	Id	?	Thormothr	Thurmod
168	2	Id	?	Thormothr	Thurmod
170	2	Id	?	Thormothr	Thurmod
180	4	Id	?	Thormothr	Thurmod
195	1	Id	?	Thormothr	Th..mod
144	1	Id	?	Wærstan	Werstan
153	2	Id	?	Wærstan	Werstan
165	3	Id	?	Wærstan	Werstan
171	1	Id	?	Wærstan	Werstan
180	3	Id	?	Wærstan	Werstan
165	1	Id?	?	Freothuric	Fredric
164	1	Id?	?	Martin	Martin
999	1	Ie	?	Heremod	Heremod
999	1	Ie	?	Thorfrithr	Thurferth
165	1	If	?	Beorhtferth	Britfert
999	1	If	?	Landferth	Loandferth
165	1	If	?	Manna	Manin
999	1	If	?	Wine	Winees
165	1	If	?	Wine?	...ees
999	1	If	?	Winemær?	Winemes
170	1	Ig	?	Æthelræd	Æthered
999	1	Ig	?	Asfrith	Osferth
147	1	Ig	?	Asleikr	Oslac
165	1	Ig	?	Manna	Manin
168	1	Ig	?	Manna	Manin
999	1	Ig	?	Uglubarthr	Ugelberd
147	1	Ih	?	Hunræd	Hunred
999	1	Ii	?	Æthelwine	Ethelwine
165	1	Ii	?	Leofing	Lefinces
999	1	Ii	?	Meinard	Meinard
999	1	Ij	?	Manna	Manin
168	1	II	Chester	Ælfsige	Ælfsig
168	1	II	Chester	Ælfstan	Ælfstan
171	1	II	Chester	Ælfstan	Ælfstan
180	1	II	Chester	Ælfstan	Ælfstan
164	1	II	Chester	Æthelhelm	Ethelm
170	1	II	Chester	Æthelhelm	Æthelm
999	1	II	Chester	Authketill?	Oucel mthe
164	1	II	Chester	Boga	Boiga
165	1	II	Chester	Boga	Boia
166	1	II	Chester	Boga	Boiga
155	1	II	Chester	Deorlaf	Deorlaf

FIND	NO.	TYPE	MINT	MONEYER/ (NORM.)	MONEYER/ (ACTUAL)
163	1	II	Chester	Deorlaf	Deorlaf
165	1	II	Chester	Deorlaf	Deorlaf
168	1	II	Chester	Deorlaf	Dredlaf
168	1	II	Chester	Deorlaf	Deorlaf
170	1	II	Chester	Deorlaf	Deorlaf
171	1	II	Chester	Deorlaf	Deorlaf
180	2	II	Chester	Deorlaf	Deorlaf
170	1	II	Chester	Durand	Durand
180	1	II	Chester	Durand	Duran
170	1	II	Chester	Eadmund	Eadmund
171	1	II	Chester	Eadmund	Eadmund
173	1	II	Chester	Ealdwine	Aldewine
180	2	II	Chester	Ealdwine	Aldewin
163	1	II	Chester	Flodger	Flodger
170	1	II	Chester	Flodger	Flodger
190	1	II	Chester	Flodger	Flodger
163	1	II	Chester	Freothuric	Frothric
164	1	II	Chester	Freothuric	Frothric
168	1	II	Chester	Freothuric	Frothric
171	1	II	Chester	Freothuric	Frothrc
165	1	II	Chester	Gillys	Gillus
165	2	II	Chester	Gillys	Gillys
168	1	II	Chester	Gillys	Gyllis
168	2	II	Chester	Iorothr	Eoroth
180	1	II	Chester	Iorothr	Eoroth
171	1	II	Chester	Leofstan	Leofstan
165	2	II	Chester	Mælsudan	Mælsuthan
168	1	II	Chester	Mælsudan	Melsutha
171	1	II	Chester	Mælsudan	Melsutha
168	1	II	Chester	Manna	Man
168	1	II	Chester	Manna	Monna
168	1	II	Chester	Martin	Martin
180	1	II	Chester	Martin	Mærtin
165	1	II	Chester	Teothic	Teodulf?
168	1	II	Chester	Teothic	Theodic
171	2	II	Chester	Teothic	Theoduc
153	1	II	Chester	Thormothr	Thurmod
163	1	II	Chester	Thormothr	Thurmod
164	1	II	Chester	Thormothr	Thurmod
165	2	II	Chester	Thormothr	Thurmod
168	2	II	Chester	Thormothr	Thurmod
180	1	II	Chester	Thormothr	Thurmod
165	1	II	Chester	Wulfgar	Wulgar
165	1	II	Chester	…	…
999	1	II	Derby	Boga	Boga
170	1	II	Derby	Grimr	Grim
163	1	II	Tamworth	Deorwulf	Deorulf
168	1	II	Tamworth	Deorwulf	Deorulf
168	1	II	Tamworth	Eoforwulf	Eofrlf
180	1	II	Tamworth	Eoforwulf	Eofrcc..
168	1	II	Tamworth	Leofwine	Leofwin
163	1	II	Tamworth	Manna	Manna
165	1	II	Tamworth	Manna	Monma
168	1	II	Tamworth	Manna	Monna
170	1	II	Tamworth	Manna	Monna
165	1	II	Tamworth?	Deorwulf	Deorulf
180	1	II	?	Ælfræd	Ælfred
164	2	II	?	Ælfsige	Ælfsig I?
999	1	III	…	Oswine	Oswine
999	1	III	Bath	Æthelferth	Æthelferth
171	1	III	Bath	Æthelric	Æthelric
171	1	III	Bath	Æthelsige	Æthelsige
999	1	III	Bath	Beornferth	Byrnferth
999	1	III	Bath	Wulfbeald	Wulfbald
168	1	III	Bedford	Grimr	Grim
999	2	III	Buckingham	Tunwulf	Tunulf
180	1	III	Canterbury	Boga	Boia
144	1	III	Chester	Ælfsige	..lfsige
144	1	III	Chester	Ælfsige	…fsig
144	2	III	Chester	Freothuric	Freotheric
999	1	III	Chester	Iorothr	Eoroth
144	4	III	Chester	Thormothr	Thurmod
165	1	III	Chichester	Flodwin	Flodwin
999	1	III	Chichester?	Cynesige	Cynsige
165	1	III	Derby	Berenhard	Berenard
144	1	III	Derby	Boga	Boiga
165	1	III	Derby	Fredic	Frethic
147	1	III	Exeter	Mangod	Mangod
165	1	III	Exeter	Regenold?	R….old
144	1	III	Exeter?	Ead Ælfstan	Ead Ælfstan
165	1	III	London	Ælfnoth	Ælfnoth
999	1	III	London	Æthelræd	Æthelred
999	1	III	London	Æthelsige	Æthelsige
165	1	III	London	Æthelweald	Athelwold
170	1	III	Malmesbury	Wulfric	Wulfric
155	1	III	Malmesbury	?	……
165	1	III	Newport Pagnall	?	….
999	1	III	Newport Pagnall	Ælfsige	Ælfsige
999	1	III	Northampton	Baldric	Baldric
999	1	III	Northampton	Eadwulf	Eadwulf
165	1	III	Northampton	Ginard	Ginard
999	1	III	Northampton	Mantat	Mantat
999	1	III	Northampton	Radulf	Rathulf
144	1	III	Northampton	Thorfrithr	Thurefrth
164	1	III	Northampton?	Osweald	Oswald
165	1	III	Oxford	Æthelwine	Æthelwine
164	1	III	Oxford	Leofsige	Leofsige
144	1	III	Oxford	Wulfstan	Wulfsan
999	1	III	Oxford	Wynhelm	Wynnelm
144	1	III	Shaftesbury	Leofstan	Leofstan
999	2	III	Tamworth	Deorwulf	Deorwulf
999	1	III	Tamworth	Eoformund	Eofermund
999	1	III	Totnes	Wynstan	Wynstan
999	1	III	Wallingford	Beorhtric	Beorhtric
180	1	III	Wallingford	Eadwine	Eadwine
171	1	III	Wallingford	Heremod	Heremod
165	1	III	Wallingford	?	…
999	1	III	Warwick	Osweard	O…
144	1	III	Weardburh	Æthelferth	Æthelfed
163	1	III	Weardburh?	Ælfstan	Ælfstan
170	1	III	Wilton	Eadstan	Eadstan
166	1	III	Wilton	Leofsige	Leofsige
999	1	III	Wilton	Leofweald	Leofwold

FIND	NO.	TYPE	MINT	MONEYER/ (NORM.)	MONEYER/ (ACTUAL)
165	1	III	Wilton	Osbearn	Osbearn
999	1	III	Winchester	Ælfsige	Ælfsige
165	2	III	Winchester	Æthelstan	Æthestan
165	1	III	Winchester	Deall	Deal
999	2	III	Winchester	Eadstan	Eadstan
999	1	III	Winchester	Rodbert	Rodbriht
999	1	III	Winchester	Wihtsige	Wihtsige
999	1	III	Winchester	Wulfsige	Wulfsige
999	1	III	Winchester	Wynsige	Wynsige
180	1	III	Winchester?	Freothumund	Frithemund
164	1	III	York	Herewulf	Herolf
180	1	III	?	Wigferth?	.iferth
999	1	III	?	Ælfsige	Ælfsige
999	1	III	?	Æthelsige	Æthelsige
168	1	III	?	Asfrith	Asferth
999	1	III	?	Baldric	Baldric
144	1	III	?	Beorhtferth	Brrehtferth
147	1	III	?	Beorhtnoth	Borthnoth
165	1	III	?	Berenhard	Bernardes
999	1	III	?	Burhstan	Burhstan
168	1	III	?	Dudeman	Dudeman
141	2	III	?	Durand	Durandes
147	2	III	?	Durand	Durand
164	1	III	?	Durand	Durand
165	3	III	?	Durand	Durand
165	4	III	?	Durand	Durandes
168	2	III	?	Durand	Durand
170	1	III	?	Durand	Durand
171	2	III	?	Durand	Durand
180	6	III	?	Durand	Durand
144	1	III	?	Eoforheard	Eaferard
147	1	III	?	Eoformund	Eofermund
141	1	III	?	Fastulfr	Fastolf
145	1	III	?	Fastulfr	Fastolfes
147	6	III	?	Fastulfr	Fastolf
155	3	III	?	Fastulfr	Fastolf
160	1	III	?	Fastulfr	Fastolf
163	3	III	?	Fastulfr	Fastolf
164	3	III	?	Fastulfr	Fastolf
165	14	III	?	Fastulfr	Fastolf
166	1	III	?	Fastulfr	Fastolf
168	6	III	?	Fastulfr	Fastolf
170	1	III	?	Fastulfr	Fastolf
171	7	III	?	Fastulfr	Fastolf
180	27	III	?	Fastulfr	Fastolf
194	2	III	?	Fastulfr	Fastolf
248	2	III	?	Fastulfr	Fastolf
164	1	III	?	Fastulfr Boga	Fastolf Boia
165	1	III	?	Fastulfr Boga	Fastolf Boiga
171	1	III	?	Fastulfr Boga	Fastolf Boiga
165	1	III	?	Fastulfr Hrafn	Fastolf Rafn
165	1	III	?	Fastulfr Oda	Fastolf Oda
171	1	III	?	Fastulfr Oda	Fastolf Oda
171	1	III	?	Grith	Grid
999	1	III	?	Gunnarr	Gunar
999	1	III	?	Heardbeorht	Hardbrit
164	1	III	?	Hereger	Heriger
180	1	III	?	Hereger?	.....eres (Edgar?)
147	1	III	?	Herewulf	Herolf
152	1	III	?	Herewulf	Herolfes
155	2	III	?	Herewulf	Herolf
163	2	III	?	Herewulf	Herolf
164	1	III	?	Herewulf	Herolf
165	9	III	?	Herewulf	Herolf
168	1	III	?	Herewulf	Herolfes
168	1	III	?	Herewulf	Herolf
171	7	III	?	Herewulf	Herolf
180	9	III	?	Herewulf	Herolf
194	2	III	?	Herewulf	Herolf
165	1	III	?	Ingalfred	Igolferthes
171	1	III	?	Ingalfred	Igolferthes
180	1	III	?	Ingalfred	Igolferthes
144	1	III	?	Leofhelm	Leofhelm
145	1	III	?	Leofhelm	Leofnel
163	1	III	?	Leofhelm	Leofhelm
163	1	III	?	Leofing	Leofinc
168	1	III	?	Leofing	Leof...
999	1	III	?	Mantat	Mantat
144	1	III	?	Osweald	Oswald
165	1	III	?	Osweald	Oswald
168	1	III	?	Osweald	Oswald
144	1	III	?	Regenfrid	Reginferth?
999	1	III	?	Seleweald	Selewold
165	1	III	?	Th....	Th....
165	1	III	?	Thorfrithr	Thurferth
999	2	III	?	Thorfrithr	Thurferth
999	1	III	?	Wærin	Wærin
147	1	III	?	Wihtmund	Richtmund
147	1	III	?	Wine	Wine
999	1	III	?	Wulfstan?	Wviftan
999	1	III	?	Wynstan	Bunstan
152	1	III	?	?	?
147	1	III/IV	?	Freothuric	Freotheric
165	1	III/IV	?	Freothuric	Freotheric
180	2	III/IV	?	Freothuric	Freotheric
144	1	IV/III	?	Iorothr	Eoroth
171	1	IV	Chester	Eadmund	Eadmund
163	1	IV	Chester	Thormothr	Thurmod
171	1	IV	Chester	Thormothr	....moth
144	2	IV	Derby	Asulfr	Osulf
144	1	IV	Derby	Boga	....a
165	1	IV	Derby	Fredic	Frethic
144	2	IV	Derby	Ioli	Iole
144	1	IV	Derby	Manna	Man
144	1	IV	Derby	Othilric	Othelric
165	1	IV	Derby	Othilric	Othelric
999	1	IV	Stafford	Amundr	Amund
144	1	IV	Tamworth	Deorwulf	Deorulf
165	1	IV	Tamworth	Deorwulf	Deorulf
999	2	IV	Tamworth	Eoformund	Eofermund
144?	1	IV	Tamworth	Spereman	Spereman
144	3	IV	?	Ælfsige	Ælfsige
170	1	IV	?	Ælfsige	Ælfsige

FIND NO.		TYPE	MINT	MONEYER/ (NORM.)	MONEYER/ (ACTUAL)
144	2	IV	?	Ælfstan	Ælfstan
144	1	IV	?	Amundr	Amund
144	1	IV	?	Boga	Boia
144	1	IV	?	Daniel	Daniel
144	3	IV	?	Deorwulf	Deorulf
144	1	IV	?	Eadmund	Eadmund
163	1	IV	?	Ealdwine	Aldewine
144	1	IV	?	Eoforheard	Eoferard
144	1	IV	?	Eoforheard	Eaferard
164	1	IV	?	Eoforheard	Eoferard
168	1	IV	?	Eoforheard	Eoferard
144	2	IV	?	Eoformund	Eofermund
171	1	IV	?	Eoformund	Eofermund
144	2	IV	?	Freothuric	Frothric
170	1	IV	?	Freothuric	Freotheiric
180	1	IV	?	Freothuric	Freotheric
144	1	IV	?	Frodald	Frothald
144	1	IV	?	Gillys	Gilys
168	1	IV	?	Gillys	Gilus
144	2	IV	?	Hildulfr	Hildulf
165	1	IV	?	Iorothr	Eoroth
144	1	IV	?	Sigeferth	Sife…
144	3	IV	?	Sigeferth	Siferth
147	1	IV	?	Sigeferth	Siferth
165	1	IV	?	Sigeferth	Siferth
180	1	IV	?	Sigeferth	Siferth
165	1	IV	?	Sigeferth?	…ferth
144	2	IV	?	Thormothr	Thurmod
145	1	IV	?	Thormothr	Thurmod
153	1	IV	?	Thormothr	Thurmod
163	1	IV	?	Thormothr	Thurmod
165	1	IV	?	Thormothr	Thurmod
147	1	IV	?	Wærstan	Werstan
163	1	IV	?	Wilsige	Wilsig
165	1	IV	?	Wilsige	Winsige?
180	1	IV	?	Wilsige	Wilsig
144	1	IV/III	?	Iorothr	Eoroth
144	1	V	Bath	Beorhtwulf	Biorthulf
144	1	V	Bedford	Ælfsige	Ælfsige
168	1	V	Bedford	Ælfsige	Ælfsig
999	1	V	Bedford	Forthgar	Forthgar
999	2	V	Bedford	Grimr	Grim
999	2	V	Bedford	Leofstan	Liofstan
999	1	V	Hertford	Abenel	Abenel
144	1	V	Huntingdon	Prim	Prim
999	1	V	Huntingdon?	Duding	Dudinc
999	3	V	London	Ælfnoth	Ælfnoth
999	1	V	London	Æthelferth	Æthelferth
165	1	V	London	Æthelræd	Æthered
168	1	V	London	Æthelræd	Æthered
999	1	V	London	Æthelwulf	Athulf
999	2	V	London	Beorhtsige	Bircsige
999	2	V	London	Hildwine	Hiltwine
999	2	V	Thetford	Æthelferth	Ælferth
144	1	V	?	Abenel	Abenel
144	1	V	?	Adelbrand	Æthelbrand
144	1	V	?	Ælfsige	Ælfsige
144	1	V	?	Æthelræd	Æthered
999	1	V	?	Albert?	Albe..
999	2	V	?	Asfrith	Osferth
144	4	V	?	Baldwin	Baldwin
180	2	V	?	Baldwin	Baldwin
144	1	V	?	Beornferth	Byrnferth
999	1	V	?	Boga	Boga
999	1	V	?	Bruning	Bruninc
163	1	V	?	Eadmær	Eadmær
171	1	V	?	Folchard	Folchard
144	3	V	?	Leofstan	Liofstan
165	1	V	?	Leofstan	Liofstan
144	1	V	?	Manna	Manne
170	1	V	?	Mantat	Mantat
999	1	V	?	Manticen	Manticen
144	1	V	?	Nordbert	Norbert
999	1	V	?	Saydtinc	Saydtinc
144	1	V	?	Sigeferth	Siferth
999	1	V	?	Sprok	Sprok
999	1	V	?	Thorketill	Thurcetel
144	1	V	?	Tunwulf	Tuholf
144	1	V	?	Wulfmær	Wulfmær
144	2	V	?	Wulfstan	Wulstan
144	1	V	?	?	…..
156	1	V	?	?	?
168	1	V	?	?	…
144	1	V	? (Exeter?)	Winebeorht	Wnebirht
144	1	V	? (Totnes?)	Burhstan	Burnstan
146	1	V?	?	?	?
165	1	Vc	Hertford	Manna	Ma…
999	1	Vc	Hertford?	Wulfmær	Wulfmær
999	1	Vc	?	Beornferth	Byrnferth
999	1	VII	?	Osweald	Oswald
180	1	VIII	Lympne	Beorhtnoth	Byrhtnoth
165	1	VIIIa	?	?	…bold
999	1	IX	Chichester	?	?
144	1	X	London	?	?
999	1	XI	?	Hildulfr	Hildulf
144	1	XI	?	Oswine	Oswine
999	1	XII	Winchester	?	?
142	4	?	?	?	?
149	1	?	?	?	?
154	1	?	?	?	?
195	4	?	?	?	?
218	1	?	?	?	?

8.2.3. Coins listed by moneyers

FIND NO.		TYPE	MINT	MONEYER/ (NORM.)	MONEYER/ (ACTUAL)
999	1	V	Hertford	Abenel	Abenel
144	1	V	?	Abenel	Abenel
141	1	I	?	Acwulf	Aculf
180	3	I	?	Acwulf	Aculf

FIND NO.		TYPE	MINT	MONEYER/ (NORM.)	MONEYER/ (ACTUAL)
141	22	I	?	Adalaver	Adelaver
144	2	I	?	Adalaver	Adelaver
147	2	I	?	Adalaver	Adelaver
152	1	I	?	Adalaver	Adelaver
160	1	I	?	Adalaver	Adelaver
163	2	I	?	Adalaver	Adelaver
164	7	I	?	Adalaver	Adelaver
165	9	I	?	Adalaver	Adelaver
168	3	I	?	Adalaver	Adelaver
170	1	I	?	Adalaver	Adelaver
171	3	I	?	Adalaver	Adelaver
180	11	I	?	Adalaver	Adelaver
165	1	I	?	Adalger	Adelger
171	1	I	?	Adalger	Adelgar
144	1	V	?	Adelbrand	Æthelbrand
165	1	I	?	Aden	Aden
170	1	I	?	Aden	Aden
171	1	I	?	Aden	Aden
165	1	III	London	Ælfnoth	Ælfnoth
999	3	V	London	Ælfnoth	Ælfnoth
144	1	Ic	?	Ælfræd	Ælfred
154	1	Ic/Id/II	?	Ælfræd	Ælfred
144	2	Id	?	Ælfræd	Ælfred
150	1	Id	?	Ælfræd	Ælfred
153	1	Id	?	Ælfræd	Ælfred
155	1	Id	?	Ælfræd	Ælfred
163	1	Id	?	Ælfræd	Ælfred
165	3	Id	?	Ælfræd	Ælfred
165	2	Id	?	Ælfræd	Elfred
170	1	Id	?	Ælfræd	Ælfred
171	2	Id	?	Ælfræd	Ælfred
180	1	Id	?	Ælfræd	Ælfred
180	1	II	?	Ælfræd	Ælfred
144	1	I	?	Ælfsige	Ælfsige
144	1	Id	?	Ælfsige	Ælfsige
144	1	Id	?	Ælfsige	Ælfsig
147	1	Id	?	Ælfsige	Ælfsige
153	2	Id	?	Ælfsige	Ælfsig
153	1	Id	?	Ælfsige	Ealfsige
163	1	Id	?	Ælfsige	Ælfsige
165	1	Id	?	Ælfsige	Ælfsig
168	2	Id	?	Ælfsige	Ælfsig
170	2	Id	?	Ælfsige	Ælfsige
171	1	Id	?	Ælfsige	Ealfsige
180	1	Id	?	Ælfsige	Ælfsige
168	1	II	Chester	Ælfsige	Ælfsig
164	2	II	?	Ælfsige	Ælfsig I?
144	1	III	Chester	Ælfsige	..lfsige
144	1	III	Chester	Ælfsige	…fsig
999	1	III	Newport Pagnall	Ælfsige	Ælfsige
999	1	III	Winchester	Ælfsige	Ælfsige
999	1	III	?	Ælfsige	Ælfsige
144	3	IV	?	Ælfsige	Ælfsige
170	1	IV	?	Ælfsige	Ælfsige
144	1	V	Bedford	Ælfsige	Ælfsige
168	1	V	Bedford	Ælfsige	Ælfsig
144	1	V	?	Ælfsige	Ælfsige
999	1	Ia	?	Ælfstan	Ælfstan
999	2	Ic	?	Ælfstan	Ælfstan
168	1	II	Chester	Ælfstan	Ælfstan
171	1	II	Chester	Ælfstan	Ælfstan
180	1	II	Chester	Ælfstan	Ælfstan
163	1	III	Weardburh?	Ælfstan	Ælfstan
144	2	IV	?	Ælfstan	Ælfstan
171	1	I	?	Ælfweald	Elfwald
194	1	I	?	Ælfweald	Elfwal
141	1	I	?	Æscman	Asmin
165	1	I	?	Æscman	Asmane
165	1	I	?	Æscman	Asmaned
180	1	I	?	Æscman	Asmneda
195	1	I	?	Æscman	Asman
141	7	I	?	Æscwulf	Æsculf
144	1	I	?	Æscwulf	Æsculf
155	1	I	?	Æscwulf	Æsculf
164	2	I	?	Æscwulf	Æsculf
165	1	I	?	Æscwulf	Æsculf
170	1	I	?	Æscwulf	Æsculf
171	1	I	?	Æscwulf	Æsculf
180	4	I	?	Æscwulf	Æsculf
141	1	I	?	Æthelferth	Ætferd
171	1	I	?	Æthelferth	Ætfer
999	1	III	Bath	Æthelferth	Æthelferth
144	1	III	Weardburh	Æthelferth	Æthelfed
999	1	V	London	Æthelferth	Æthelferth
999	2	V	Thetford	Æthelferth	Ælferth
165	1	I	?	Æthelhelm	Ethelm
171	1	Id	?	Æthelhelm	Æthelm
180	1	Id	?	Æthelhelm	Æthelm
164	1	II	Chester	Æthelhelm	Ethelm
170	1	II	Chester	Æthelhelm	Æthelm
999	1	I	?	Æthelræd	Æthelred
999	2	Ic	?	Æthelræd	Æthelred
170	1	Ig	?	Æthelræd	Æthered
999	1	III	London	Æthelræd	Æthelred
165	1	V	London	Æthelræd	Æthered
168	1	V	London	Æthelræd	Æthered
144	1	V	?	Æthelræd	Æthered
171	1	III	Bath	Æthelric	Æthelric
163	1	I	?	Æthelsige	Æthelsige
164	1	I	?	Æthelsige	Æthelsie
165	2	I	?	Æthelsige	Æthelsie
165	1	I	?	Æthelsige	Æthelsig
171	1	I	?	Æthelsige	Adelsie
171	1	III	Bath	Æthelsige	Æthelsige
999	1	III	London	Æthelsige	Æthelsige
999	1	III	?	Æthelsige	Æthelsige
165	1	I	?	Æthelstan	Æthelstan
165	2	III	Winchester	Æthelstan	Æthestan
165	1	III	London	Æthelweald	Athelwold
999	1	I	?	Æthelweard	Adelverd
141	1	I	?	Æthelwine	Ethelwine
163	1	I	?	Æthelwine	Æthelwine
164	1	I	?	Æthelwine	Adlwine

FIND NO.		TYPE	MINT	MONEYER/ (NORM.)	MONEYER/ (ACTUAL)
164	3	I	?	Æthelwine	Ethelwine
165	1	I	?	Æthelwine	Ethelaine
165	1	I	?	Æthelwine	Athlwin
168	1	I	?	Æthelwine	Adlvne
171	1	I	?	Æthelwine	Ethelaine
180	1	I	?	Æthelwine	Adlwine
180	2	I	?	Æthelwine	Ethelaine
192	1	I	?	Æthelwine	Ethelaine
248	1	I	?	Æthelwine	Ethelville
999	1	Ii	?	Æthelwine	Ethelwine
165	1	III	Oxford	Æthelwine	Æthelwine
999	1	I	?	Æthelwulf	Adellolf
144	1	Ic	?	Æthelwulf	Æthelulf
165	1	Ic	?	Æthelwulf	Æthelulfes
999	1	V	London	Æthelwulf	Athulf
999	1	V	?	Albert?	Albe..
141	7	I	?	Albutc	Albutic
147	2	I	?	Albutc	Albutic
163	1	I	?	Albutc	Albutic
164	6	I	?	Albutc	Albutic
165	3	I	?	Albutc	Albutic
165	2	I	?	Albutc	Albutc
170	2	I	?	Albutc	Albutic
171	3	I	?	Albutc	Albutc
180	5	I	?	Albutc	Albutc
195	1	I	?	Albutc	Albutc
248	1	I	?	Albutc	Albutc
999	1	IV	Stafford	Amundr	Amund
144	1	IV	?	Amundr	Amund
165	1	I	?	Ana	Ana
170	1	I	?	Andreas	Andreas
147	1	I	?	Asfrith	Asfeth
152	1	I	?	Asfrith	Asferth
163	1	I	?	Asfrith	Asferth
165	3	I	?	Asfrith	Asferth
170	1	I	?	Asfrith	Asferth
171	1	I	?	Asfrith	Asferth
180	1	Ic	?	Asfrith	Osferth
999	1	Ig	?	Asfrith	Osferth
168	1	III	?	Asfrith	Asferth
999	2	V	?	Asfrith	Osferth
147	1	Ig	?	Asleikr	Oslac
999	1	Ic	?	Asulfr	Osulf
144	2	IV	Derby	Asulfr	Osulf
999	1	II	Chester	Authketill?	Oucel mthe
999	1	III	Northampton	Baldric	Baldric
999	1	III	?	Baldric	Baldric
144	4	V	?	Baldwin	Baldwin
180	2	V	?	Baldwin	Baldwin
141	16	I	?	Benedictus	Benethiht
143	1	I	?	Benedictus	Benediht
165	1	I	?	Benedictus	Benethiht
165	2	I	?	Benedictus	Benediht
171	1	I	?	Benedictus	Benediht
180	3	I	?	Benedictus	Benethiht
164	2	I	?	Beorhtferth	Britfer
165	1	I	?	Beorhtferth	Britfer
171	1	I	?	Beorhtferth	Britfer
296	1	I	?	Beorhtferth	Brihtfer
165	1	If	?	Beorhtferth	Britfert
144	1	III	?	Beorhtferth	Brrehtferth
168	1	I	?	Beorhtferth?	Brtl…
147	1	III	?	Beorhtnoth	Borthnoth
180	1	VIII	Lympne	Beorhtnoth	Byrhtnoth
999	1	Ib	?	Beorhtric	Beorhtric
999	1	III	Wallingford	Beorhtric	Beorhtric
999	2	V	London	Beorhtsige	Bircsige
999	1	Ib	?	Beorhtwulf	Biorhtulf
144	1	V	Bath	Beorhtwulf	Biorthulf
141	1	I	?	Beornferth	Bernferth
180	1	I	?	Beornferth	Bernferth
999	1	III	Bath	Beornferth	Byrnferth
144	1	V	?	Beornferth	Byrnferth
999	1	Vc	?	Beornferth	Byrnferth
144	1	Ib	?	Beornferth?	Byrhferth
144	1	I	?	Beornwulf	Bernulf
171	1	I	?	Beornwulf?	Biriiuii
165	2	Ic	?	Berenhard	Berenard
164	1	Ic?	?	Berenhard	Berenard
165	1	III	Derby	Berenhard	Berenard
165	1	III	?	Berenhard	Bernardes
144	1	Ic	?	Boga	Boiga
164	1	II	Chester	Boga	Boiga
165	1	II	Chester	Boga	Boia
166	1	II	Chester	Boga	Boiga
999	1	II	Derby	Boga	Boga
180	1	III	Canterbury	Boga	Boia
144	1	III	Derby	Boga	Boiga
144	1	IV	Derby	Boga	….a
144	1	IV	?	Boga	Boia
999	1	V	?	Boga	Boga
144	1	I	?	Brother	Brothar
144	1	I	?	Brother	Browar
999	1	V	?	Bruning	Bruninc
999	1	III	?	Burhstan	Burhstan
144	1	V	? (Totnes?)	Burhstan	Burnstan
164	1	I	?	Cawelin	Cawelin
165	1	I	?	Cawelin	Cawelin
168	1	I	?	Cawelin	Cawelin
171	1	I	?	Cawelin	Cawelin
180	1	I	?	Cawelin	Cawelin
155	1	I	?	Cnapa	Cnape
163	1	I	?	Cnapa	Cnape
164	2	I	?	Cnapa	Cnapa
165	2	I	?	Cnapa	Cnape
170	1	I	?	Cnapa	Cnape
180	1	I	?	Cnapa	Cnapa
999	1	III	Chichester?	Cynesige	Cynsige
144	1	IV	?	Daniel	Daniel
165	1	III	Winchester	Deall	Deal
155	1	II	Chester	Deorlaf	Deorlaf
163	1	II	Chester	Deorlaf	Deorlaf
165	1	II	Chester	Deorlaf	Deorlaf

FIND NO.		TYPE	MINT	MONEYER/ (NORM.)	MONEYER/ (ACTUAL)
168	1	II	Chester	Deorlaf	Dredlaf
168	1	II	Chester	Deorlaf	Deorlaf
170	1	II	Chester	Deorlaf	Deorlaf
171	1	II	Chester	Deorlaf	Deorlaf
180	2	II	Chester	Deorlaf	Deorlaf
153	2	Id	?	Deorwulf	Deorulf
165	1	Id	?	Deorwulf	Deorulf
180	1	Id	?	Deorwulf	Deorulf
163	1	II	Tamworth	Deorwulf	Deorulf
168	1	II	Tamworth	Deorwulf	Deorulf
165	1	II	Tamworth?	Deorwulf	Deorulf
999	2	III	Tamworth	Deorwulf	Deorwulf
144	1	IV	Tamworth	Deorwulf	Deorulf
165	1	IV	Tamworth	Deorwulf	Deorulf
144	3	IV	?	Deorwulf	Deorulf
144	1	Ic	?	Dominicus	Demence
180	1	Ic	?	Dominicus	Demence
168	1	III	?	Dudeman	Dudeman
999	1	V	Huntingdon?	Duding	Dudinc
141	13	I	?	Durand	Durand
143	1	I	?	Durand	Durand
144	1	I	?	Durand	Du..nd
147	2	I	?	Durand	Durand
164	2	I	?	Durand	Durand (II?)
165	1	I	?	Durand	Durand
168	1	I	?	Durand	Durand
170	1	I	?	Durand	Durand
171	1	I	?	Durand	Durand
180	3	I	?	Durand	Durand
170	1	II	Chester	Durand	Durand
180	1	II	Chester	Durand	Duran
141	2	III	?	Durand	Durandes
147	2	III	?	Durand	Durand
164	1	III	?	Durand	Durand
165	4	III	?	Durand	Durandes
165	3	III	?	Durand	Durand
168	2	III	?	Durand	Durand
170	1	III	?	Durand	Durand
171	2	III	?	Durand	Durand
180	6	III	?	Durand	Durand
144	1	III	Exeter?	Ead Ælfstan	Ead Ælfstan
163	1	V	?	Eadmær	Eadmær
144	2	Id	?	Eadmund	Eadmund
153	2	Id	?	Eadmund	Eadmund
163	1	Id	?	Eadmund	Eadmund
165	1	Id	?	Eadmund	Eadmund
170	1	II	Chester	Eadmund	Eadmund
171	1	II	Chester	Eadmund	Eadmund
171	1	IV	Chester	Eadmund	Eadmund
144	1	IV	?	Eadmund	Eadmund
170	1	III	Wilton	Eadstan	Eadstan
999	2	III	Winchester	Eadstan	Eadstan
180	1	III	Wallingford	Eadwine	Eadwine
999	1	III	Northampton	Eadwulf	Eadwulf
153	2	Id	?	Eahlmund	Alhmund
165	1	Id	?	Eahlmund	Alhmund
171	1	Id	?	Eahlmund	Alhmund
180	1	Id	?	Eahlmund	Ahlmund
999	3	Ic	?	Ealdwine	Aldewine
153	3	Id	?	Ealdwine	Aldewine
163	1	Id	?	Ealdwine	Aldewine
165	3	Id	?	Ealdwine	Aldewine
171	2	Id	?	Ealdwine	Aldewine
180	1	Id	?	Ealdwine	Aldewine
173	1	II	Chester	Ealdwine	Aldewine
180	2	II	Chester	Ealdwine	Aldewin
163	1	IV	?	Ealdwine	Aldewine
141	23	I	?	Eanwulf	Eanulf
144	1	I	?	Eanwulf	Eanulf
147	1	I	?	Eanwulf	Eanulf
148	1	I	?	Eanwulf	Eanulf
163	1	I	?	Eanwulf	Eanulf
164	5	I	?	Eanwulf	Eanulf
165	8	I	?	Eanwulf	Eanulf
168	1	I	?	Eanwulf	Eanulf
171	1	I	?	Eanwulf	Eanulf
180	6	I	?	Eanwulf	Eanulf
194	1	I	?	Eanwulf	Eanulf
144	1	III	?	Eoforheard	Eaferard
144	1	IV	?	Eoforheard	Eaferard
144	1	IV	?	Eoforheard	Eoferard
164	1	IV	?	Eoforheard	Eoferard
168	1	IV	?	Eoforheard	Eoferard
999	1	Ic	?	Eoformund	Eofermund
999	1	III	Tamworth	Eoformund	Eofermund
147	1	III	?	Eoformund	Eofermund
999	2	IV	Tamworth	Eoformund	Eofermund
144	2	IV	?	Eoformund	Eofermund
171	1	IV	?	Eoformund	Eofermund
141	1	I	?	Eoforwulf	Eeorulf
165	1	I	?	Eoforwulf	Efrolf
180	3	I	?	Eoforwulf	Efrolf
168	1	II	Tamworth	Eoforwulf	Eofrlf
180	1	II	Tamworth	Eoforwulf	Eofrcc..
168	1	I	?	Farman	Farman
171	1	I	?	Farman	Farman
180	2	I	?	Farman	Farman
141	14	I	?	Farthegn	Farthen
144	1	I	?	Farthegn	Farthein
147	1	I	?	Farthegn	Farthen
152	1	I	?	Farthegn	Farthein
163	1	I	?	Farthegn	Farthein
164	6	I	?	Farthegn	Fardein
165	2	I	?	Farthegn	Farthen
168	1	I	?	Farthegn	Farthein
170	1	I	?	Farthegn	Færthen
171	1	I	?	Farthegn	Farthein
180	5	I	?	Farthegn	Farthein
195	1	I	?	Farthegn	.ar..in (Edgar
296	1	I	?	Farthegn	Farthine
164	1	I	?	Farthegn?	Capeh
141	1	III	?	Fastulfr	Fastolf
145	1	III	?	Fastulfr	Fastolfes

FIND NO.		TYPE	MINT	MONEYER/ (NORM.)	MONEYER/ (ACTUAL)
147	6	III	?	Fastulfr	Fastolf
155	3	III	?	Fastulfr	Fastolf
160	1	III	?	Fastulfr	Fastolf
163	3	III	?	Fastulfr	Fastolf
164	3	III	?	Fastulfr	Fastolf
165	14	III	?	Fastulfr	Fastolf
166	1	III	?	Fastulfr	Fastolf
168	6	III	?	Fastulfr	Fastolf
170	1	III	?	Fastulfr	Fastolf
171	7	III	?	Fastulfr	Fastolf
180	27	III	?	Fastulfr	Fastolf
194	2	III	?	Fastulfr	Fastolf
248	2	III	?	Fastulfr	Fastolf
164	1	III	?	Fastulfr Boga	Fastolf Boia
165	1	III	?	Fastulfr Boga	Fastolf Boiga
171	1	III	?	Fastulfr Boga	Fastolf Boiga
165	1	III	?	Fastulfr Hrafn	Fastolf Rafn
165	1	III	?	Fastulfr Oda	Fastolf Oda
171	1	III	?	Fastulfr Oda	Fastolf Oda
163	1	II	Chester	Flodger	Flodger
170	1	II	Chester	Flodger	Flodger
190	1	II	Chester	Flodger	Flodger
165	1	III	Chichester	Flodwin	Flodwin
171	1	V	?	Folchard	Folchard
999	1	V	Bedford	Forthgar	Forthgar
144	2	Ic	?	Fredic	Frethic
163	1	Ic	?	Fredic	Frethic
164	1	Ic	?	Fredic	Frethic
165	1	III	Derby	Fredic	Frethic
165	1	IV	Derby	Fredic	Frethic
180	1	III	Winchester?	Freothumund	Frithemund
144	2	Id	?	Freothuric	Frothric
145	1	Id	?	Freothuric	Frothric
153	2	Id	?	Freothuric	Frethric
153	4	Id	?	Freothuric	Frothric
153	1	Id	?	Freothuric	Freoric
155	1	Id	?	Freothuric	Freothric
165	2	Id	?	Freothuric	Freothric
170	2	Id	?	Freothuric	Frothric
171	3	Id	?	Freothuric	Freothric
180	4	Id	?	Freothuric	Freothric
165	1	Id?	?	Freothuric	Fredric
163	1	II	Chester	Freothuric	Frothric
164	1	II	Chester	Freothuric	Frothric
168	1	II	Chester	Freothuric	Frothric
171	1	II	Chester	Freothuric	Frothrc
144	2	III	Chester	Freothuric	Freotheric
147	1	III/IV	?	Freothuric	Freotheric
165	1	III/IV	?	Freothuric	Freotheric
180	2	III/IV	?	Freothuric	Freotheric
144	2	IV	?	Freothuric	Frothric
170	1	IV	?	Freothuric	Freotheiric
180	1	IV	?	Freothuric	Freotheric
165	1	Id	?	Freothuwulf	Frothulf
144	1	IV	?	Frodald	Frothald
180	1	I	?	Fugolta	Fugetat
153	2	Id	?	Gillys	Gilys
171	1	Id	?	Gillys	Gillys
165	2	II	Chester	Gillys	Gillys
165	1	II	Chester	Gillys	Gillus
168	1	II	Chester	Gillys	Gyllis
144	1	IV	?	Gillys	Gilys
168	1	IV	?	Gillys	Gilus
165	1	III	Northampton	Ginard	Ginard
999	1	I	?	Godfrid	Godeferth
999	1	Ic	?	Grimbert?	Grimter
144	3	I	?	Grimr	Grim
170	1	II	Derby	Grimr	Grim
168	1	III	Bedford	Grimr	Grim
999	2	V	Bedford	Grimr	Grim
141	7	I	?	Grith	Grid
152	2	I	?	Grith	Grid
155	1	I	?	Grith	Grith
160	1	I	?	Grith	Grid
165	4	I	?	Grith	Grid
168	5	I	?	Grith	Grid
171	1	I	?	Grith	Grid
180	10	I	?	Grith	Grid
192	1	I	?	Grith	Grid
194	1	I	?	Grith	Grid
171	1	III	?	Grith	Grid
171	1	I	?	Gundfrid	Gunverd
180	1	I	?	Gundfrid	Gunfred
999	2	Ic	?	Gunnarr	Guner
999	1	Id	?	Gunnarr	Gunar
999	1	III	?	Gunnarr	Gunar
141	1	I	?	Hacuf	Hacuf
144	1	I	?	Hacuf	Hacuf
170	1	I	?	Hacuf	Hacolf
171	1	I	?	Hacuf	Hacuf
180	1	I	?	Hacuf	Hacuf
999	1	III	?	Heardbeorht	Hardbrit
141	1	I	?	Herebeorht	Herebert
165	1	I	?	Herebeorht	Herebert
180	1	I	?	Herebeorht	Herebert
141	4	I	?	Hereger	Harger
141	95	I	?	Hereger	Heriger
143	2	I	?	Hereger	Heriger
144	1	I	?	Hereger	Harcer
144	14	I	?	Hereger	Heriger
147	4	I	?	Hereger	Heriger
147	1	I	?	Hereger	Harcer
163	2	I	?	Hereger	Heriger
164	5	I	?	Hereger	Heriger
165	3	I	?	Hereger	Harcer
165	24	I	?	Hereger	Heriger
168	1	I	?	Hereger	Harcer
168	4	I	?	Hereger	Heriger
170	1	I	?	Hereger	Heriger
171	4	I	?	Hereger	Heriger
180	23	I	?	Hereger	Heriger
192	2	I	?	Hereger	Heriger
194	1	I	?	Hereger	Heriger

FIND NO.		TYPE	MINT	MONEYER/ (NORM.)	MONEYER/ (ACTUAL)
164	1	III	?	Hereger	Heriger
180	1	III	?	Hereger?	.....eres (Edgar?)
141	1	I	?	Hereman	Hereman
165	1	I	?	Hereman	Hereman
171	2	I	?	Hereman	Hereman
999	1	Ie	?	Heremod	Heremod
171	1	III	Wallingford	Heremod	Heremod
999	1	Ia	?	Herewulf	Herulf
164	1	III	York	Herewulf	Herolf
147	1	III	?	Herewulf	Herolf
152	1	III	?	Herewulf	Herolfes
155	2	III	?	Herewulf	Herolf
163	2	III	?	Herewulf	Herolf
164	1	III	?	Herewulf	Herolf
165	9	III	?	Herewulf	Herolf
168	1	III	?	Herewulf	Herolf
168	1	III	?	Herewulf	Herolfes
171	7	III	?	Herewulf	Herolf
180	9	III	?	Herewulf	Herolf
194	2	III	?	Herewulf	Herolf
999	1	I	?	Hild	Hilde
144	2	IV	?	Hildulfr	Hildulf
999	1	XI	?	Hildulfr	Hildulf
165	1	I	?	Hildulfr?	Hildo..
999	2	V	London	Hildwine	Hiltwine
165	1	Ic	?	Hreitharr	Reghteres
153	1	Id	?	Hrodulf	Hrodulf
147	1	I	?	Hunræd	Hunred
170	1	I	?	Hunræd	Hunred
147	1	Ih	?	Hunræd	Hunred
141	8	I	?	Ifa	Ive
144	3	I	?	Ifa	Ive
147	1	I	?	Ifa	Ive
163	2	I	?	Ifa	Ive
164	7	I	?	Ifa	Ive
165	8	I	?	Ifa	Ive
168	2	I	?	Ifa	Ive
170	1	I	?	Ifa	Ive
171	4	I	?	Ifa	Ive
180	7	I	?	Ifa	Ive
193	1	I	?	Ifa	Ive
194	1	I	?	Ifa	Ive
164	1	I	?	Ifa?	Esvi
141	1	I	?	Igenc	Igenc
164	1	I	?	Igenc	Igenc
141	1	I	?	Ingalbert	Ingelbert
999	1	Ic	?	Ingalbert	Ingelberd
165	1	III	?	Ingalfred	Igolferthes
171	1	III	?	Ingalfred	Igolferthes
180	1	III	?	Ingalfred	Igolferthes
164	1	Ic	?	Ingalric	Ingelries
170	1	Ic	?	Ingalric	Ingelri
141	1	I	?	Ingolfr	Hingolf
141	6	I	?	Ingolfr	Ingolf
144	2	I	?	Ingolfr	Ingolf
164	1	I	?	Ingolfr	Ingulf
165	3	I	?	Ingolfr	Ingolf
168	3	I	?	Ingolfr	Ingolf
171	1	I	?	Ingolfr	Ingolf
180	1	I	?	Ingolfr	Ingolf
248	1	I	?	Ingolfr	Ingolf
165	1	Ic	?	Ioli	Ioles
171	1	Ic	?	Ioli	Ioles
144	2	IV	Derby	Ioli	Iole
144	3	Id	?	Iorothr	Eoroth
153	6	Id	?	Iorothr	Eoroth
163	1	Id	?	Iorothr	Eoroth
165	1	Id	?	Iorothr	Edroth
171	1	Id	?	Iorothr	Eoroth
180	1	Id	?	Iorothr	Eoroth
168	2	II	Chester	Iorothr	Eoroth
180	1	II	Chester	Iorothr	Eoroth
999	1	III	Chester	Iorothr	Eoroth
144	1	IV/III	?	Iorothr	Eoroth
165	1	IV	?	Iorothr	Eoroth
141	10	I	?	Isenbert	Isembert
144	1	I	?	Isenbert	Isembert
152	1	I	?	Isenbert	Isembert
163	1	I	?	Isenbert	Isembert
164	4	I	?	Isenbert	Isembert
165	1	I	?	Isenbert	Isenbert
141	2	I	?	Kaupman	Copman
147	1	I	?	Kaupman	Copman
165	1	I	?	Kaupman	Copman
168	1	I	?	Kaupman	Copman
170	1	I	?	Kaupman	Copman?
171	4	I	?	Kaupman	Copman
180	2	I	?	Kaupman	Copman
999	1	Ia	?	Kolgrimr	Colgrim
999	1	I	?	Landferth	Loandferth
165	1	Ic	?	Landferth	Lan.ferth
180	1	Ic	?	Landferth	Landferth
999	1	If	?	Landferth	Loandferth
165	1	I	?	Lenna	Lenna
171	1	I	?	Lenna	Lenna
999	1	Ic	?	Leofhelm	Leofhelm
144	1	III	?	Leofhelm	Leofhelm
145	1	III	?	Leofhelm	Leofnel
163	1	III	?	Leofhelm	Leofhelm
141	4	I	?	Leofing	Levic
168	1	I	?	Leofing	Levll
171	1	I	?	Leofing	Lefinc?
180	1	I	?	Leofing	Levic
145	1	Ic	?	Leofing	Lefinc
165	1	Ii	?	Leofing	Lefinces
163	1	III	?	Leofing	Leofinc
168	1	III	?	Leofing	Leof...
165	1	Ic	?	Leofman	Lefmanes
296	1	Ic	?	Leofman	Lefmanes
164	1	III	Oxford	Leofsige	Leofsige
166	1	III	Wilton	Leofsige	Leofsige
144	1	Ic	?	Leofstan	Leofstan
999	1	Id	?	Leofstan	Leofstan

FIND NO.		TYPE	MINT	MONEYER/ (NORM.)	MONEYER/ (ACTUAL)
171	1	II	Chester	Leofstan	Leofstan
144	1	III	Shaftesbury	Leofstan	Leofstan
999	2	V	Bedford	Leofstan	Liofstan
144	3	V	?	Leofstan	Liofstan
165	1	V	?	Leofstan	Liofstan
999	1	III	Wilton	Leofweald	Leofwold
168	1	II	Tamworth	Leofwine	Leofwin
141	1	I	?	Maccus	Macus
164	1	I	?	Maccus	Macus
168	1	I	?	Maccus	Macus
171	1	I	?	Maccus	Macus
180	1	I	?	Maccus	Macus
165	2	II	Chester	Mælsudan	Mælsuthan
168	1	II	Chester	Mælsudan	Melsutha
171	1	II	Chester	Mælsudan	Melsutha
141	2	I	?	Mamo	Mamolet
144	2	I	?	Mamo	Mamolet
168	1	I	?	Mamo	Mamolet
147	1	III	Exeter	Mangod	Mangod
141	22	I	?	Manna	Manna
144	2	I	?	Manna	Manna
147	1	I	?	Manna	Manai
148	1	I	?	Manna	Manne
163	2	I	?	Manna	Manna
164	7	I	?	Manna	Manan (II?)
165	1	I	?	Manna	Mana
165	1	I	?	Manna	Mannet
165	8	I	?	Manna	Manan
165	1	I	?	Manna	Manai
165	3	I	?	Manna	Manna
168	3	I	?	Manna	Manan
168	1	I	?	Manna	Man
168	1	I	?	Manna	Manai
170	1	I	?	Manna	Manna
170	1	I	?	Manna	Manner
171	1	I	?	Manna	Mana
171	1	I	?	Manna	Manai
180	14	I	?	Manna	Manan
165	1	Ic	?	Manna	Manes
180	1	Ic	?	Manna	Manna
165	1	If	?	Manna	Manin
165	1	Ig	?	Manna	Manin
168	1	Ig	?	Manna	Manin
999	1	Ij	?	Manna	Manin
168	1	II	Chester	Manna	Man
168	1	II	Chester	Manna	Monna
163	1	II	Tamworth	Manna	Manna
165	1	II	Tamworth	Manna	Monma
168	1	II	Tamworth	Manna	Monna
170	1	II	Tamworth	Manna	Monna
144	1	IV	Derby	Manna	Man
144	1	V	?	Manna	Manne
165	1	Vc	Hertford	Manna	Ma...
141	2	I	?	Manning	Manning
165	1	I	?	Manning	Manning
999	1	III	Northampton	Mantat	Mantat
999	1	III	?	Mantat	Mantat
170	1	V	?	Mantat	Mantat
999	1	V	?	Manticen	Manticen
999	1	I	?	Martin	Martin
150	1	Id	?	Martin	Martin
153	2	Id	?	Martin	Mertin
180	1	Id	?	Martin	Mærtin
164	1	Id?	?	Martin	Martin
168	1	II	Chester	Martin	Martin
180	1	II	Chester	Martin	Mærtin
999	1	Ii	?	Meinard	Meinard
141	1	I	?	Morgna	Morgnan
147	1	I	?	Morgna	Morgna
164	1	I	?	Morgna	Morgna
165	3	I	?	Morgna	Morgemai
168	2	I	?	Morgna	Morgna
171	1	I	?	Morgna	Morgna
144	1	V	?	Nordbert	Norbert
165	2	I	?	Ogeman	Oeeman
171	1	I	?	Ogeman	Ogeman
165	1	III	Wilton	Osbearn	Osbearn
164	1	III	Northampton?	Osweald	Oswald
144	1	III	?	Osweald	Oswald
165	1	III	?	Osweald	Oswald
168	1	III	?	Osweald	Oswald
999	1	VII	?	Osweald	Oswald
171	1	Ic	?	Osweard	Oswardes
999	1	III	Warwick	Osweard	O.....
999	1	III	...	Oswine	Oswine
144	1	XI	?	Oswine	Oswine
999	2	Ic	?	Othilric	Othelries
180	1	Ic?	?	Othilric	Othe....
144	1	IV	Derby	Othilric	Othelric
165	1	IV	Derby	Othilric	Othelric
999	1	Id	?	Othilric?	Othelariht
144	1	V	Huntingdon	Prim	Prim
999	1	III	Northampton	Radulf	Rathulf
999	1	Ic	?	Rædwine	Redwine
180	3	I	?	Randwin	Ranuywi
144	1	III	?	Regenfrid	Reginferth?
165	1	III	Exeter	Regenold?	R....old
999	1	I	?	Reinard	Reinad
165	1	I	?	Renn?	Renn
165	1	I	?	Riculf	Rigolf
171	2	I	?	Riculf	Ricolf
999	1	III	Winchester	Rodbert	Rodbriht
999	1	V	?	Saydtinc	Saydtinc
165	1	Ib	?	Sedeman	.edeman
999	1	Ia	?	Sekrlauss	Serclos
999	1	III	?	Seleweald	Selewold
141	1	I	?	Siduman	Sedeman
165	1	I	?	Siduman	Sedeman
171	1	I	?	Siduman	Sedeman
180	1	I	?	Siduman	Sedeman
999	1	I	?	Sigeferth	Sigefreth
168	1	Id	?	Sigeferth	Siferth
171	1	Id	?	Sigeferth	Siferth

FIND	NO.	TYPE	MINT	MONEYER/ (NORM.)	MONEYER/ (ACTUAL)
180	2	Id	?	Sigeferth	Siferth
144	1	IV	?	Sigeferth	Sife…
144	3	IV	?	Sigeferth	Siferth
147	1	IV	?	Sigeferth	Siferth
165	1	IV	?	Sigeferth	Siferth
180	1	IV	?	Sigeferth	Siferth
144	1	V	?	Sigeferth	Siferth
165	1	IV	?	Sigeferth?	…ferth
144	1	Ic	?	Sigegar	Sigares
180	1	I	?	Smala	Ismala
144?	1	IV	Tamworth	Spereman	Spereman
999	1	V	?	Sprok	Sprok
999	1	Ia	?	Sumarlithr	Sumerleda
153	1	Id	?	Teothic	Teothuc
165	1	II	Chester	Teothic	Teodulf?
168	1	II	Chester	Teothic	Theodic
171	2	II	Chester	Teothic	Theoduc
165	1	III	?	Th….	Th….
999	1	Id	?	Theodræd	Teodred
999	1	Ie	?	Thorfrithr	Thurferth
144	1	III	Northampton	Thorfrithr	Thurefrth
165	1	III	?	Thorfrithr	Thurferth
999	2	III	?	Thorfrithr	Thurferth
999	1	V	?	Thorketill	Thurcetel
144	1	Id	?	Thormothr	Thurmod
153	4	Id	?	Thormothr	Thurmoth
163	1	Id	?	Thormothr	Thurmod
164	1	Id	?	Thormothr	Thurmod
165	2	Id	?	Thormothr	Thurmod
168	2	Id	?	Thormothr	Thurmod
170	2	Id	?	Thormothr	Thurmod
180	4	Id	?	Thormothr	Thurmod
195	1	Id	?	Thormothr	Th..mod
153	1	II	Chester	Thormothr	Thurmod
163	1	II	Chester	Thormothr	Thurmod
164	1	II	Chester	Thormothr	Thurmod
165	2	II	Chester	Thormothr	Thurmod
168	2	II	Chester	Thormothr	Thurmod
180	1	II	Chester	Thormothr	Thurmod
144	4	III	Chester	Thormothr	Thurmod
163	1	IV	Chester	Thormothr	Thurmod
171	1	IV	Chester	Thormothr	….moth
144	2	IV	?	Thormothr	Thurmod
145	1	IV	?	Thormothr	Thurmod
153	1	IV	?	Thormothr	Thurmod
163	1	IV	?	Thormothr	Thurmod
165	1	IV	?	Thormothr	Thurmod
999	2	III	Buckingham	Tunwulf	Tunulf
144	1	V	?	Tunwulf	Tuholf
141	7	I	?	Ubeinn	Unbein
141	1	I	?	Ubeinn	Hunbein
144	1	I	?	Ubeinn	Hunbein
145	1	I	?	Ubeinn	Unbein
147	2	I	?	Ubeinn	Unbein
152	1	I	?	Ubeinn	Unbein
163	1	I	?	Ubeinn	Unbeinn
164	2	I	?	Ubeinn	Unbeinn
165	8	I	?	Ubeinn	Unbein
168	1	I	?	Ubeinn	Unbein
168	1	I	?	Ubeinn	Hunbein
171	2	I	?	Ubeinn	Hunbein
180	6	I	?	Ubeinn	Unbein
194	1	I	?	Ubeinn	Unbein
999	2	Ic	?	Uglubarthr	Ugelberd
999	1	Ig	?	Uglubarthr	Ugelberd
999	1	III	?	Wærin	Wærin
144	1	Id	?	Wærstan	Werstan
153	2	Id	?	Wærstan	Werstan
165	3	Id	?	Wærstan	Werstan
171	1	Id	?	Wærstan	Werstan
180	3	Id	?	Wærstan	Werstan
147	1	IV	?	Wærstan	Werstan
141	3	I	?	Wigferth	Wiferth
164	2	I	?	Wigferth	Wiferth
168	1	I	?	Wigferth	….rth
170	1	I	?	Wigferth	Wiferth
180	1	I	?	Wigferth	Wi….. (Edgar?)
180	1	III	?	Wigferth?	.iferth
147	1	III	?	Wihtmund	Richtmund
999	1	III	Winchester	Wihtsige	Wihtsige
163	1	IV	?	Wilsige	Wilsig
165	1	IV	?	Wilsige	Winsige?
180	1	IV	?	Wilsige	Wilsig
999	1	If	?	Wine	Winees
147	1	If	?	Wine	Wine
165	1	III	?	Wine?	…ees
144	1	V	? (Exeter?)	Winebeorht	Wnebirht
141	1	I	?	Winemær?	Winenr
165	1	I	?	Winemær?	Wine..
168	2	I	?	Winemær?	Winenr
171	1	I	?	Winemær?	Winenr
165	1	Ic	?	Winemær?	Winem..
999	1	Ic	?	Winemær?	Wine mes
999	1	If	?	Winemær?	Winemes
999	1	III	Bath	Wulfbeald	Wulfbald
180	2	Ic	?	Wulfgar	Wulfgares
165	1	II	Chester	Wulfgar	Wulgar
144	1	V	?	Wulfmær	Wulfmær
999	1	Vc	Hertford?	Wulfmær	Wulfmær
170	1	III	Malmesbury	Wulfric	Wulfric
999	1	III	Winchester	Wulfsige	Wulfsige
999	1	I	?	Wulfstan	Wulfstan
999	1	Ic	?	Wulfstan	Wulfstan
144	1	III	Oxford	Wulfstan	Wulfsan
144	2	V	?	Wulfstan	Wulstan
999	1	III	?	Wulfstan?	Wviftan
999	1	Ic	?	Wulfweard?	Vvalfserd
999	1	III	Oxford	Wynhelm	Wynnelm
999	1	III	Winchester	Wynsige	Wynsige
999	1	III	Totnes	Wynstan	Wynstan
999	1	III	?	Wynstan	Bunstan
180	1	I	?	Wynstan?	Ristan
168	1	I	?	?….	Biorit…

FIND NO.		TYPE	MINT	MONEYER/ (NORM.)	MONEYER/ (ACTUAL)
296	1	I	?	?	Cylilgn
168	1	I	?	?...	Wlf...
152	2	I	?	?	?
165	1	II	Chester	...	...
155	1	III	Malmesbury	?	......
165	1	III	Newport Pagnall	?	....
165	1	III	Wallingford	?	...
152	1	III	?	?	?
144	1	V	?	?	.....
156	1	V	?	?	?
168	1	V	?	?	...
146	1	V?	?	?	?
165	1	VIIIa	?	?	...bold
999	1	IX	Chichester	?	?
144	1	X	London	?	?
999	1	XII	Winchester	?	?
142	4	?	?	?	?
149	1	?	?	?	?
154	1	?	?	?	?
195	4	?	?	?	?
218	1	?	?	?	?

8.3. Finds with coins of the Reform issue

Hoards found in the Bristish Isles are listed within each area in the order of Blackburn & Pagan 1986 (BI) for easy reference. Only the post-reform coins are listed in detail.

For hoards found outside the British Isles the lists only describe the coins up to the Reform issue. Within each area the hoards are listed in the order of Blackburn & Jonsson 1981 (I – Iceland, N – Norway, F – Finland, and W – West Slav Lands), Jonsson 1987 (DS – Denmark and S, G, DS – Sweden), and Kluge 1981 (E, R – East Slav Lands), i.e. according to their date of deposit. Coins from unidentified Swedish hoards have been given a fictitious reference number within parenthesis (see section 8.4.).

Uncertain attributions are rendered within parenthesis.

8.3.1. The British Isles

A) England

a) Hoards

Welwyn (Great North Road), Hertfordshire, August 1912. 4 coins.

Disposition: BM (1), remainder sold.
Reference: BI 173; Dolley 1969.

Edgar
Three-Line

1.	Chester	Aldewine
2.		Moneyer? (Three-Line?)

Edgar/Edward?
Small Cross?

3.	Mint?	Moneyer?

Edward the Martyr
Normal Small Cross

4.	Winchester	Moneyer?

Chester (Pemberton's Parlour), Cheshire, August 1914. More than 133 coins. Many coins were dispersed and include two coins in the Grovenor Museum, Chester. Two further coins in the Grosvenor Museum, Chester (Edward, Normal Small Cross, Ipswich, Wilebert, and Æthelred II, First Small Cross, Lincoln, Rodbert), acquired from F. Hashill in 1949, are claimed to have been found 'near cathedral' [Information from C.N. Moore], but their appearance gives every indication that they were part of the hoard. Another six coins in private possession probably also belong to the hoard.
Disposition: BM, Chester, and private collections.
Reference: BI 174; Dolley 1966, no. 120; Hill 1920; Purvey 1969; Thompson 1956, no. 85.

Edgar
Reform Small Cross

1.	Canterbury	Boea	Jonsson 1987, d
2.		Wine	Jonsson 1987, a
3.		Wine	Jonsson 1987, b
4.	Derby	Osulf	Jonsson 1987, a
5.	Leicester	Mani	Jonsson 1987, c
6.	Lympne	Æthestan	Jonsson 1987, b
7.	Northampton	Leofsili	Jonsson 1987, a
8.		Leofsili	Jonsson 1987, d
9.		Leofsili	Jonsson 1987, e
10.		Leofsili	Jonsson 1987, f
11.		Oswold	Jonsson 1987, a
12.	Oxford	Wulfred	Jonsson 1987, o
13.	Rochester	Sideman	Jonsson 1987, c
14.		Sideman	Jonsson 1987, e

15.	Southampton	Eadnoth	Jonsson 1987, a
16.		Eadnoth	Jonsson 1987, b
17.	Stamford	Æscman	Jonsson 1987, a
18.		Cnapa	Jonsson 1987, b
19.	Winchester	Ælfsige	Jonsson 1987, e
20.		Wihtsige	Jonsson 1987, b
21.		Wihtsige	Jonsson 1987, c
22.	York	Unspac	Jonsson 1987, c

Edward the Martyr
Normal Small Cross

23.	Bedford	Ælfstan	Jonsson 1987, a
24.		Ælfstan	Jonsson 1987, c
25.		Ælfstan	Jonsson 1987, d
26.		Ælfstan	Jonsson 1987, e
27.		Balddig	Jonsson 1987, a
28.		Balddig	Jonsson 1987, e
29.		Balddig	Jonsson 1987, f
30.	Chester	Boigea	Jonsson 1987, c
31.		Boigea	Jonsson 1987, d
32.		Ioeea	Jonsson 1987, b
33.	Guildford	Ælfweard	Jonsson 1987, a
34.	Ipswich	Wilebert	Jonsson 1987, b
35.	Lincoln	Adelaver	Jonsson 1987, a
36.		Grim	Jonsson 1987, a
37.		Grim	Jonsson 1987, b
38.		Grind	Jonsson 1987, d
39.		Levig	Jonsson 1987, b
40.		Levig	Jonsson 1987, c
41.		Levig	Jonsson 1987, h
42.	London	Ælfweard	Jonsson 1987, b
43.		Wigferth	Jonsson 1987, a
44.	Louth?	[?]ald	Jonsson 1987, a
45.	Lympne	Æthestan	Jonsson 1987, c
46.		Æthestan	Jonsson 1987, d
47.	Northampton	Cylm	Jonsson 1987, a
48.		Cytel	Jonsson 1987, a
49.		Leofælm	Jonsson 1987, a (Southampton)
50.		Leofsige	Jonsson 1987, a
51.	Norwich	Mannic	Jonsson 1987, a
52.		Mannic	Jonsson 1987, b
53.	Oxford	Wulfred	Jonsson 1987, b
54.	Rochester	Ea[delm]	Jonsson 1987, a
55.		Sideman	Jonsson 1987, a
56.		Sideman	Jonsson 1987, b
57.	Stamford	Ælfwald	Jonsson 1987, d
58.		Ælfwald	Jonsson 1987, e
59.		Æscman	Jonsson 1987, c
60.		Æ[?]	Jonsson 1987, a
61.		Cnapa	Jonsson 1987, c
62.		Cnapa	Jonsson 1987, d
63.		Cnapa	Jonsson 1987, e
64.		Cnapa	Jonsson 1987, g
65.		Wacer	Jonsson 1987, a
66.		Wacer	Jonsson 1987, d
67.		Wulgar	Jonsson 1987, e
68.		Wulgar	Jonsson 1987, f
69.		Wulgar	Jonsson 1987, m
70.	Tamworth	Deorul[f]	Jonsson 1987, b
71.		Man[a]	Jonsson 1987, c
72.	Thetford	Spyrelinc	Jonsson 1987, d
73.	Wilton	Boiga	Jonsson 1987, a
74.		Ead[wine]	Jonsson 1987, c
75.	Winchester	Eatstan	Jonsson 1987, b
76.	York	Beolan	Jonsson 1987, c
77.		Oda	Jonsson 1987, b
78.		Styr	Jonsson 1987, a
79.		[?]	Jonsson 1987, a
80.	[?]	[L]eofwine	Jonsson 1987, a
81.	Mint?	Moneyer?	Jonsson 1987, b

Æthelred II
First Small Cross

82.	Bedford	Ælfstan	Jonsson 1987, c
83.		Baldig	Jonsson 1987, a
84.		Baldig	Jonsson 1987, b
85.		Baldig	Jonsson 1987, c
86.		Byrnwine	Jonsson 1987, a
87.	Caistor	Lema[n]	Jonsson 1987, b
88.	Canterbury	Boga	Jonsson 1987, a
89.	Chester	Ælfstan	Jonsson 1987, b
90.		Ælfstan	Jonsson 1987, c
91.		Deorlaf	Jonsson 1987, a
92.		Mælsuthon	Jonsson 1987, a
93.	Derby	Gunar	Jonsson 1987, a
94.		Gunar	Jonsson 1987, b
95.		Osolf	Jonsson 1987, a
96.		Osolf	Jonsson 1987, b
97.		Osolf	Jonsson 1987, c
98.		Osolf	Jonsson 1987, d
99.		Osolf	Jonsson 1987, f
100.	Horncastle	Adel	Jonsson 1987, b
101.	Lincoln	Grim	Jonsson 1987, a
102.		Grind	Jonsson 1987, a
103.		Grind	Jonsson 1987, b
104.		Grind	Jonsson 1987, d
105.		Levig	Jonsson 1987, a

106.	Levig	Jonsson 1987, b
107.	Rodbert	Jonsson 1987, b
108.	Rodbert	Jonsson 1987, d
109.	Rodbert	Jonsson 1987, e
110.	Rodbert	Jonsson 1987, f
111.	Rodbert	Jonsson 1987, g
112. Stamford	Boga	Jonsson 1987, a
113.	Leoving	Jonsson 1987, b
114.	Wulfgar	Jonsson 1987, c
115.	Wulfgar	Jonsson 1987, d
116. Tamworth	Lefwin	Jonsson 1987, a
117.	Ma[na]	Jonsson 1987, a
118. Totnes	Manna	Jonsson 1987, a
119. York	Cieolog	Jonsson 1987, a
120.	Oda	Jonsson 1987, b (Edgar)
121.	Swerting	Jonsson 1987, a

First Hand (left-facing bust)

122. Chester	Deorlaf	Jonsson 1987, a
123.	Leomman	Jonsson 1987, b
124.	Leomman	Jonsson 1987, d
125. Shrewsbury	Ævic	Jonsson 1987, a

First Hand (right-facing bust)

126. Chester	Ælfstan	Jonsson 1987, c
127.	Ælfstan	Jonsson 1987, e
128. Lincoln	S[wer]ting	Jonsson 1987, a
129. London	Alfwold	Jonsson 1987, i
130.	Alfwold	Jonsson 1987, j
131.	Goda	Jonsson 1987, j
132. Winchester	Æ[lfsi]ge	Jonsson 1987, l
133. York	Farman	Jonsson 1987, i

Oakham, Rutlandshire, 1749.

Estimated at c. 300 coins, of which 13 are recorded and an additional 177 are reconstructed. The contemporary figures for the number of coins are diverging, and judging from the composition of the extant coins of the Reform issue, the figure 300 must be regarded as a conservative estimate. If coins of the First Hand type was also included in the hoard [Blackburn & Pagan 1986, 305], the number of coins would be even higher.

Disposition: dispersed, but part of the hoard divided between a large number of public and private collections. The reconstruction by Blunt and Lyon records 189 coins, but one coin (Edward BMC 6) in fact consists of two parts from two different coins, viz. Edward, Normal Small Cross, York, Beolan, and Æthelred II, First Small Cross, York, Man [Information from W. Lean]. Other minor corrections and additions have also been made in the list here.

Reference: BI 175; Blunt & Lyon 1979.

Edgar

Reform Small Cross

1.	Bedford	Grim	Jonsson 1987, b
2.	Canterbury	Boga	Jonsson 1987, e
3.		Boga	Jonsson 1987, f
4.		Boga	Jonsson 1987, g
5.	Derby	Osulf	Jonsson 1987, b
6.	Exeter	Iohan	Jonsson 1987, a
7.	Gloucester	Æthestan	Jonsson 1987, c
8.	Ipswich	Leofric	Jonsson 1987, d
9.	Lewes	Theodgar	Jonsson 1987, c
10.	Lincoln	Eanulf	Jonsson 1987, e
11.		Eanulf	Jonsson 1987, f
12.		Eanulf	Jonsson 1987, g/h
13.	London	Æthelred	Jonsson 1987, b
14.		Æthelwold	Jonsson 1987, f
15.		Æthelwold	Jonsson 1987, i
16.	Lympne	Leofwine	Jonsson 1987, a
17.	Newark	Ingolf	Jonsson 1987, b
18.	Northampton	Baldric	Jonsson 1987, b
19.		Leofsige	Jonsson 1987, g
20.		Mantat	Jonsson 1987, c
21.		Thurferth	Jonsson 1987, a
22.	Norwich	Lifinc	Jonsson 1987, a
23.	Oxford	Æthelwine	Jonsson 1987, c
24.		Wulfred	Jonsson 1987, p/r/s/t
25.	Rochester	Sideman	Jonsson 1987, d
26.	Shrewsbury	Æthelsige	Jonsson 1987, b
27.	Stamford	Ogea	Jonsson 1987, e
28.		Riculf	Jonsson 1987, a
29.		Wulfgar	Jonsson 1987, e
30.		Wulfgar	Jonsson 1987, f
31.		Wulfgar	Jonsson 1987, g
32.		Wulfgar	
33.	Thetford	Ælfgar	Jonsson 1987, e
34.		Ælfgar	Jonsson 1987, h
35.		Ælfgar	
36.	Wilton	Ælfsige	Jonsson 1987, a
37.		Eadwine	Jonsson 1987, c
38.		Leofwold	Jonsson 1987, d
39.	Winchcombe	Ælfnoth	Jonsson 1987, a
40.	Winchester	Ælfsige	Jonsson 1987, g
41.		Frythemund	Jonsson 1987, b

42.		Marscale	Jonsson 1987, b
43.	York	Brentinc	Jonsson 1987, a
44.		Dun	Jonsson 1987, a
45.		Fastolf	Jonsson 1987, d
46.		Iohan	Jonsson 1987, a
47.		Manna	Jonsson 1987, b
48.		Osmund	Jonsson 1987, b
49.		Tuma	Jonsson 1987, b
50.	Mint?	Moneyer?	
51.	Mint?	Moneyer?	
52.	Mint?	Moneyer?	
53.	Mint?	Moneyer?	
54.	Mint?	Moneyer?	
55.	Mint?	Moneyer?	
	Edward the Martyr *Normal Small Cross*		
56.	Bedford	Ælfstan	Jonsson 1987, b
57.		Baldric	Jonsson 1987, b
58.		Baldric	Jonsson 1987, g
59.		Baldric	Jonsson 1987, h
60.		Baldric	Jonsson 1987, i
61.	Caistor	Leofman	Jonsson 1987, a
62.	Cambridge	Hunstan	Jonsson 1987, a
63.	Canterbury	Ælfstan	Jonsson 1987, b
64.	Chester	Ælfstan	Jonsson 1987, a
65.		Mælsuthon	Jonsson 1987, a
66.	Derby	Osulf	Jonsson 1987, a
67.	Exeter	Iohan	Jonsson 1987, d
68.	Gloucester	Burhstan	Jonsson 1987, a
69.	Hertford	Wulfmær	Jonsson 1987, a
70.	Ipswich	Wilebeart	Jonsson 1987, a
71.	Lewes	Sexbyryht	Jonsson 1987, a
72.	Lincoln	Adelaver	Jonsson 1987, b
73.		Adelaver	Jonsson 1987, f
74.		Eanulf	Jonsson 1987, a
75.		Eanulf	Jonsson 1987, c/d
76.		Goding	Jonsson 1987, a
77.		Grind	Jonsson 1987, c
78.		Grind	Jonsson 1987, e
79.		Grind	Jonsson 1987, –
80.		Grind	
81.		Hafgrim	Jonsson 1987, a
82.		Hafgrim	Jonsson 1987, b
83.		Levig	Jonsson 1987, d
84.		Levig	Jonsson 1987, e
85.		Levig	Jonsson 1987, f
86.		Levig	Jonsson 1987, i
87.		Levig	Jonsson 1987, j
88.		Levig	Jonsson 1987, l
89.		Levig	Jonsson 1987, o
90.		Levig	Jonsson 1987, –
91.		Rodbert	Jonsson 1987, a
92.		Rodbert	Jonsson 1987, b
93.	London	Æthelred	Jonsson 1987, c
94.		Æthelwold	Jonsson 1987, e
95.		Leofeh	Jonsson 1987, a
96.	'LVVEIC'	Etheln	Jonsson 1987, a
97.	Lympne	Æthestan	Jonsson 1987, e
98.		Leofwold	Jonsson 1987, a
99.		Wine	Jonsson 1987, a
100.	Newark	Ingolf	Jonsson 1987, a
101.	Northampton	Cylm	Jonsson 1987, c
102.		Leofsige	Jonsson 1987, b
103.		Mancrent	Jonsson 1987, a
104.		Mancrent	Jonsson 1987, c
105.		Oswold	Jonsson 1987, b
106.	Norwich	Manninc	Jonsson 1987, c
107.	Oxford	Wulfred	Jonsson 1987, c
108.		Wulfred	Jonsson 1987, d
109.	Stamford	Ælfwold	Jonsson 1987, f
110.		Ælfwold	Jonsson 1987, g
111.		Ælfwold	Jonsson 1987, h
112.		Æscman	Jonsson 1987, e
113.		Æscman	Jonsson 1987, f
114.		Æscman	Jonsson 1987, k
115.		Boia	Jonsson 1987, b
116.		Boia	Jonsson 1987, e
117.		Cnapa	Jonsson 1987, f
118.		Cnapa	Jonsson 1987, h
119.		Cnapa	Jonsson 1987, i
120.		Cnapa	Jonsson 1987, j
121.		Cnapa	Jonsson 1987, n
122.		Grim	Jonsson 1987, a
123.		Hild	Jonsson 1987, f
124.		Hild	Jonsson 1987, g
125.		Hild	Jonsson 1987, n
126.		Hild	
127.		Ogea	Jonsson 1987, d
128.		Ogea	Jonsson 1987, c (Boga)
129.		Wacer	Jonsson 1987, b
130.		Wacer	Jonsson 1987, c
131.		Wine	Jonsson 1987, a
132.		Wulfgar	Jonsson 1987, b
133.		Wulfgar	Jonsson 1987, c
134.		Wulgar	Jonsson 1987, k
135.		Wulfgar	Jonsson 1987, o

136.		Wulfstan	Jonsson 1987, a
137.		Wulfstan	Jonsson 1987, b
138.		Moneyer?	
139.		Moneyer?	
140.		Moneyer?	
141.		Moneyer?	
142.		Moneyer?	
143.		Moneyer?	
144.		Moneyer?	
145.		Moneyer?	
146.	Tamworth	Deorulf	Jonsson 1987, d
147.	Thetford	Spyrling	Jonsson 1987, c
148.	Winchester	Megred	Jonsson 1987, b
149.		Rægenulf	Jonsson 1987, –
150.		Wihtsige	Jonsson 1987, c
151.		Wihtsige	Jonsson 1987, d
152.		Wulfstan	Jonsson 1987, b
153.	York	Ælfstan	Jonsson 1987, e
154.		Beolan	Jonsson 1987, d
155.		Beolan	Jonsson 1987, g
156.		Beolan	Jonsson 1987, h
157.		Dun	Jonsson 1987, b
158.		Fastolf	Jonsson 1987, a
159.		Gunnulf	Jonsson 1987, a
160.		Isulf	Jonsson 1987, a
161.		Oda	Jonsson 1987, c

Æthelred II
First Small Cross

162.	Bedford	Baldric	Jonsson 1987, d
163.		Bealdulf	Jonsson 1987, a
164.	Caistor	Leofman	Jonsson 1987, c
165.	Derby	Gunar	Jonsson 1987, c
166.		Osulf	Jonsson 1987, e
167.		Osolf	Jonsson 1987, –
168.	Ipswich	Vilebeart?	Jonsson 1987, a
169.	Lincoln	Grim	Jonsson 1987, b
170.		Grind	Jonsson 1987, c
171.		Grind	Jonsson 1987, g
172.		Hafgrim	Jonsson 1987, b
173.		Levig	Jonsson 1987, c
174.		Rodbert	Jonsson 1987, c
175.		Swerting	Jonsson 1987, e
176.	London	Æthelred	Jonsson 1987, a
177.	Northampton	Mancrent	Jonsson 1987, c
178.	Norwich	Manninc	Jonsson 1987, a
179.	Stamford	Ælfwald	Jonsson 1987, c
180.		Grim	Jonsson 1987, a
181.		Ogea	Jonsson 1987, a
182.	Wilton	Bogia	Jonsson 1987, a
183.	York	Farman	Jonsson 1987, a
184.		Fastolf	Jonsson 1987, a
185.		Man	Jonsson 1987, b
186.		Man	Jonsson 1987, c
187.		Oda	Jonsson 1987, b
188.		Oda	Jonsson 1987, e
189.		Sunulf	Jonsson 1987, a
190.		Thurstan	Jonsson 1987, a

Edgar/Edward/Æthelred II
Small Cross

191.	Mint?	Moneyer?	Jonsson 1987, –

Spettisbury Ring, Dorset, c. 1790.
3 coins.
Disposition: dispersed.
Reference: BI 176; Metcalf & Jonsson 1980.

Edgar
Reform Small Cross

1.	Totnes	Wynstan	Jonsson 1987, a

Edward the Martyr
Normal Small Cross

2.	Stamford	Wulfgar	

Æthelred II
Type?

3.	Mint?	Moneyer?	

b) Stray finds

Alford (near), Lincolnshire. October 1985.
Disposition: private collection.
Reference: Blackburn & Bonser 1985, no. 2.

Æthelred II
First Small Cross

1.	York	Ascetel	Jonsson 1987, b

Averly, Essex, 1985.
Disposition: private collection.
Reference: Bispham 1986.

Edgar
Reform Small Cross

1.	Lympne	Æthelstan	Jonsson 1987, –

Bear Regis (near), Dorset, 1985.
Disposition: private collection.

Reference: Blackburn & Bonser 1986, no. 80.

Edward the Martyr
Normal Small Cross
1. [?] (Ha?)raln(er?) Jonsson 1987, –

Biggleswade (Sheepwalk), Bedfordshire, year?
Disposition: Bedford.
Reference: Gunstone (forthcoming).

Edward the Martyr
Normal Small Cross
1. Bedford Grim Jonsson 1987, a

Castle Acre, Norfolk, 1980 or earlier.
Disposition: private collection.
Reference: Metcalf 1980, 42.

Edward the Martyr
Normal Small Cross
1. Derby Osulf Jonsson 1987, b

Grimsby (near), Lincolnshire. December 1984.
Disposition: private collection.
Reference: Blackburn & Bonser 1984, no. 10.

Æthelred II
First Small Cross
1. York Wine[man] Jonsson 1987, a

Lewes (Landport), Sussex, 1975
Disposition: Lewes.
Reference: Metcalf 1980, 39.

Edward the Martyr
Normal Small Cross
1. London Ælfweard Jonsson 1987, d

Meols (near Dove Point), Cheshire. Before 1863.
Disposition: Liverpool.
Reference: Metcalf 1980, 45.

Edgar
Reform Small Cross
1. York Æ[?] Jonsson 1987, a

Edward the Martyr
Normal Small Cross
2. Stamford [Ælfwold?] Jonsson 1987, a

Much Marcle, Hereford, 1970s?
Disposition: Hereford.
Reference: Metcalf 1980, 45.

Æthelred II
First Small Cross
1. Lincoln Grind Jonsson 1987, e

Shrubland Hall, near Coddenham, Suffolk, 1982.
Disposition: private collection.
Reference: Blackburn & Bonser 1985, no. 60.

Edward the Martyr
Normal Small Cross
1. York Gu[nnulf] Jonsson 1987, b

Tamworth, Staffordshire. 1960.
Disposition: Tamworth.
Reference: Metcalf 1980, 45.

Edward the Martyr
Normal Small Cross
1. Torksey [Thurcet]el Jonsson 1987, a

West Mersea, Essex, 1986.
Disposition: private collection.
Reference: Blackburn & Bonser 1986, no. 133.

Edward the Martyr
Normal Small Cross
1. Lympne Wine Jonsson 1987, –

York (Coppergate), Yorkshire. 1977.
Disposition: York.
Reference: Pirie 1986, no. 62.

Æthelred II
First Small Cross
1. York Styr Jonsson 1987, a

B) Wales

a) Hoard

Laugharne churchyard, Dyfed, 1920/30s ('between the wars').
Unknown number of coins, estimated at c. 60, of which 3 preserved.
Disposition: J.P. Gordon Williams (1–3), remaining probably all disintegrated.
Reference: BI 172; Dolley 1959A; Dykes 1976, 27 no. 4.

Edgar
Reform Small Cross
1. Chester Mælsuthon Jonsson 1987, d
2. Lincoln Leving Jonsson 1987, b
3. [?] Bwirth[?] Jonsson 1987, a

b) Stray find

Caer Gybi, Anglesey, Gwynedd, 1952.
Disposition: Cardiff.

Reference: Dykes 1976, 28 no. 6.

Edward the Martyr
Normal Small Cross

1.	Northampton	Cytel	Jonsson 1987, b

C) Scotland

a) Hoard

Iona Abbey, Argyll. 1950.
363 coins, of which 345 Anglo-Saxon, 5 Viking, 10 immitations, and 3 French.
Disposition: Edinburgh.
Reference : BI 180; Dolley 1966, no. 124; Thompson 1956, no. 198.

1–9. Æthelstan
10–23. Edmund
24–90. Edred
91–116. Edwig
117–338. Edgar

Edward the Martyr
Normal Small Cross

339.	Northampton	Cylm	Jonsson 1987, b

Æthelred II
First Hand

340.	Exeter	Ælfnoth	Jonsson 1987, e
341.	Hereford	Godman	Jonsson 1987, c
342.	York	Frostulf	Jonsson 1987, d
343.		Thorstan	Jonsson 1987, e

Second Hand

344.	Exeter	Byrhsige	Jonsson 1987, n
345.	Winchester	Byrhsige	Jonsson 1987, e

D) Ireland

a) Hoards

Unknown findspot, 1940s or earlier. Part of hoard listed above among hoards with pre-reform coins of Edgar?
5 coins.
Deposit: after 975.
Disposition: sold by a London dealer in the 1940s.
Reference: BI 296; Hall 1978, 78.

1–4. Edgar

Edward the Martyr
Normal Small Cross

5.	Lincoln	Rodbert	Jonsson 1987, –

Kildare (near), Co. Kildare. 1923.
34 coins recorded, believed to be complete.
Deposit: after c. 991.
Disposition: all 34 bought by Wells in 1923, of which 25 are now in Dublin, 2 in Lincoln, and the remainder are in private collections.
Reference: BI 183; Dolley 1966, no. 127; Hall 1974, 79; Thompson 1956, no. 134; Wells 1924.

Æthelred II
First Small Cross

1.	Northampton	Cylm	Jonsson 1987, a

First Hand (left-facing bust)

2.	Shrewsbury	Ævic	Jonsson 1987, b

First Hand (right-facing bust)

3.	Canterbury	Boia	Jonsson 1987, t
4.		Boia	Jonsson 1987, z
5.	Exeter	Brun	Jonsson 1987, h
6.	Gloucester	L[eofsig]e	Jonsson 1987, h
7.	Lincoln	Goding	Jonsson 1987, e
8.		Goding	Jonsson 1987, f
9.		Goding	Jonsson 1987, g
10.		Grind	Jonsson 1987, d
11.		Unbeng	Jonsson 1987, h
12.	London	Æthestan	Jonsson 1987, d
13.		Byrunsige	Jonsson 1987, k
14.		Byruhsige	Jonsson 1987, l
15.		Byruhsige	Jonsson 1987, m
16.		God	Jonsson 1987, l
17.		Leofric	Jonsson 1987, i
18.		Sibwine	Jonsson 1987, f
19.	Lydford	Æthered	Jonsson 1987, i
20.	Rochester	Sidewine	Jonsson 1987, p
21.		Sidwin	Jonsson 1987, y
22.	York	Alfstan	Jonsson 1987, d
23.		Colgrim	Jonsson 1987, i
24.		Frostulf	Jonsson 1987, e
25.		Isulf	Jonsson 1987, b
26.		Thorstan	Jonsson 1987, g

Second Hand

27.	Exeter	Byrhsige	Jonsson 1987, p
28.		Byrhsige	Jonsson 1987, q

29.	London	Ælfwer[d]	Jonsson 1987, f
30.		Æthered	Jonsson 1987, v
31.		Atheulf	Jonsson 1987, l
32.	Lydford	Godwine	Jonsson 1987, h
33.	Thetford	Eadgar	Jonsson 1987, g

Benediction Hand

34.	Southampton	Isegel	Jonsson 1987, a

8.3.2. France

a) Hoard

Fécamp (3, rue de Galeries), Seine-Maritime, 3 July, 1963.
More than 8,781 coins, of which 3 Anglo-Saxon. One further Anglo-Saxon coin has been claimed to belong to the hoard [Galerie des Monnaies, Düsseldorf, 10.11.1977, no. 941 (no. 2 below)].
Deposit: after 975.
Disposition: 8,584 coins in Paris, some in Brussels, while others were dispersed.
Reference: Dumas 1971.

Edgar
Two-line

1.	Mint?	Manan	

Three-line

2.	Tamwoth	Mana	

Edward the Martyr
Normal Small Cross

3.	Lympne	Æthstan	Jonsson 1987, g
4.		Leofwine	Jonsson 1987, a
5.	Southampton	Wunstan	Jonsson 1987, a

8.3.3. Iceland

a) Hoard

Gaulverjabær, Arnessysla par., 1930.
356 coins, of which 175 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 1002.
Disposition: Reykjavik.
Reference: Eldjarn 1948, I 7.

Edgar
Circumscription Cross

1.	(York)	Fastolf	

Edward the Martyr
Reform Small Cross

2.	Exeter	Iohan	Jonsson 1987, c

8.3.4. Norway

a) Hoards

Reve (?), Klepp par., Rogaland, 1836f.
14 coins, of which 1 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 984.
Disposition: Some at Oslo, others dispersed.
Reference: N 12.

Edgar
Reform Small Cross?

1.	Mint?	Moneyer?	

Sløgstad, Stranda par., Møre og Romsdal, 1947.
67 coins, of which 31 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 1002.
Disposition: Bergen.
Reference: N 22.

Edgar
Reform Small Cross

1.	Malmesbury	Lyfing	Jonsson 1987, a

Tørlå (Fiskå), Vanylen par., Møre og Romsdal, 1866.
C. 120 coins, of which c. 50 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 1009
Disposition: Oslo.
Reference: N 25.

Edgar
Reform Small Cross

1.	Maldon	Byrhtefrd	Jonsson 1987, b

Æthelred II
First Small Cross

2.	Chester	Ælfstan	Jonsson 1987, a
3.	Exeter	[Moneyer?]	Jonsson 1987, a

Jøsang, Tysvær par., Rogaland, 1923.
More than 318 coins, of which 151 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 1014.
Disposition: Stavanger.
Reference: N 26.

Edward the Martyr
Normal Small Cross

1.	London	Ælfweard	Jonsson 1987, a

Hårr, Hå par., Rogaland, 1894.
C. 418 coins, of which c. 250 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 1020.
Disposition: Bergen.
Reference: N 30.

Æthelred II
First Small Cross

1. Stamford Leoving Jonsson 1987, a

Årstad, Egersund par., Rogaland, 1836f.
1,849 coins, of which 1,014 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 1029.
Disposition: Oslo and Bergen.
Reference: N 37.

Edgar
Reform Small Cross

1. Stafford Siulf Jonsson 1987, a

Trondheim, Dronningens gate 10, Sør-Trøndelag, 1950.
964 coins, of which 372 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 1029.
Disposition: Trondheim.
Reference: N 41

Edgar
Reform Small Cross

1. Chester Thur[mod] Jonsson 1987, c

8.3.5. Denmark

a) Hoards

Klostermarken, Aalborg, Jylland, 1837.
44 coins, of which 2 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 973.
Disposition: Copenhagen.
Reference: DS 11.

Edgar
Two-line Pellet/three crosses

1. (York) Sumerleda

Reform Small Cross

2. Lincoln Grind Jonsson 1987, a

Graagaard, Haderup par., Jylland, 1887.
115 coins, of which 2 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 985.
Disposition: Copenhagen.
Reference: DS 17.

Edgar
Reform Small Cross

1. Stamford [Æsc]man Jonsson 1987, a (Edward)

Edward the Martyr
Normal Small Cross

2. York Dun Jonsson 1987, a

Vaalse, Vaalse par., Falster, 1835.
C. 700 coins, of which 6 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 991.
Disposition: Copenhagen.
Reference: DS 22.

Edmund
Crowned Bust

1. Mint? Fredard

Edgar
Reform Small Cross

2. London Ælfnoth Jonsson 1987, a

Edward the Martyr
Normal Small Cross

3. Lewes Theodgar Jonsson 1987, a
4. Lympne Byrhtric Jonsson 1987, a

Æthelred II
First Small Cross

5. Northampton? Leofrne Jonsson 1987, b (Ipswich?)

Kulhusgaarden, Draby par., Sjælland, 1863.
80 coins, of which 27 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 991.
Disposition: Copenhagen.
Reference: DS 23.

Edgar
Reform Small Cross

1. Exeter Ælfstan Jonsson 1987, d

Munkegaard, Ibsker par., Bornholm, 1864.
896 coins, of which 159 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 1002.
Disposition: Copenhagen.
Reference: DS 48.

Æthelred II
First Small Cross

1. Lincoln Swerting Jonsson 1987, b

Iholm, Bregninge par., Falster, 1853f.
471 coins, of which 238 Anglo-Saxon.

Deposit: after 1002.
Disposition: Copenhagen.
Reference: DS 50.

Edgar
Reform Small Cross

1.	Canterbury	Garwig	Jonsson 1987, a
2.	Lympne	Alfwold	Jonsson 1987, a
3.	Winchester	Marscale	Jonsson 1987, a

Enner, Tamdrup par., Jylland, 1849.
1,318 coins, of which 642 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 1029.
Disposition: Copenhagen.
Reference: DS 77.

Edgar
Reform Small Cross

1.	Oxford	Wulfred	Jonsson 1987, l

Bonderup, Taarnborg par., Sjælland, 1854.
240 coins, of which 142 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 1050.
Disposition: Copenhagen.
Reference: DS 113.

Edgar
Reform Small Cross

1.	Leicester	Wulfstan	Jonsson 1987, c

Stolpehuse, Taarnby par., Sjælland, 1837.
2,253 coins, of which 153 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 1053.
Disposition: Copenhagen.
Reference: DS 116.

Edward the Martyr
Normal Small Cross

1.	York	Surclos	Jonsson 1987, b

8.3.6. Sweden

A) Gotland

a) Hoards

Boters, Gerum par., 1860.
887 coins, of which 1 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 973.
Disposition: KMK but unprovenanced.
Reference: G 1; Hatz 1974, no. 381.

Edgar
Reform Small Cross

1.	York	Fastolf	Jonsson 1987, a/b

Grausne, Stenkyrka par., 1882 f.
391 coins, of which 1 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 973.
Disposition: KMK but mostly unprovenanced.
Reference: G 2; Hatz 1974, no. 11.

Edgar
Reform Small Cross

1.	Canterbury	Æthestan	Jonsson 1987, a

Mårtens, Grötlingbo par., 1907
114 coins, of which 1 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 973.
Disposition: KMK.
Reference: G 3; Hatz 1974, no. 13.

Edgar
Reform Small Cross

1.	Chester	Dyurlof	Jonsson 1987, a

L. Rone, Lye par., 1860.
239 coins, of which 1 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 973/4.
Reference: G 4; Hatz 1974, no. 382.

Edgar
Two-line Pellet/three crosses

1.	(York)	Herulf	

Suderbys, Dalhem par., 1870.
175 coins, of which 1 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 978.
Disposition: KMK but unprovenanced.
Reference: CNS 1.3.5; G 5; Hatz 1974, no. 387.

Æthelred II
First Small Cross

1.	Stamford	Wulgar	Jonsson 1987, a

Lingvide (Sigters), Havdhem par., 1955f.
257 coins, of which 3 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 978.
Disposition: KMK.
Reference: G 6; Hatz 1974, no. 16.

Edgar
Reform Small Cross

1.	Ipswich	Leofric	Jonsson 1987, b

Æthelred II
First Small Cross

2.	Horncastle	Adeln	Jonsson 1987, a
3.	York	Elfstan	Jonsson 1987, a

Snäckarve, Stenkumla par., 1918.
460 coins, of which 1 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 991.
Disposition: KMK.
Reference: G 11; Hatz 1974, no. 56.

Edward the Martyr
Normal Small Cross

1. York Beolan Jonsson 1987, a

Mallgårds, Alskog par., 1848f.
144 coins, of which 5 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 991.
Disposition: KMK but unprovenanced.
Reference: CNS 1.1.4; G 12; Hatz 1974, no. 385.

Edgar
Reform Small Cross

1. York (Fastolf) Jonsson 1987, a/b

Norrkvie, Grötlingbo par., 1834.
169 coins, of which 16 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 991.
Disposition: KMK but unprovenanced.
Reference: G 15; Hatz 1974, no. 50.

Edgar
Reform Small Cross

1. Mint and moneyer not recorded
2. Mint and moneyer not recorded

Hulte, Endre par., 1874.
469 coins, of which 4 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 991.
Disposition: KMK but unprovenanced.
Reference: CNS 1.3.18; G 18; Hatz 1974, no. 40.

Æthelred II
First Small Cross

1. (Bedford/Lewes)(Ælfstan/Herebeorht)

Hägvalls, Gerum par., 1943.
1,927 coins, of which 6 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: aftter 991.
Disposition: Visby.
Reference: G 19; Hatz 1974, no. 36.

Athelstan
Circumscription Cross

1. [Chester] [P]aules

Edgar
Reform Small Cross

2. York Unspac Jonsson 1987, a

Æthelred II
First Small Cross

3. Bedford Ælfstan Jonsson 1987, a
4. York [Beo]lan Jonsson 1987, a

Timans, Roma par., 1954f.
More than 137 coins, of which 2 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 991.
Disposition: KMK.
Reference: G 20; Hatz 1974, –.

Æthelred II
First Small Cross

1. Caistor Leman Jonsson 1987, a

Fölhagen, Björke par., 1866.
1,241 coins, of which 4 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 991.
Disposition: KMK but unprovenanced.
Reference: CNS 1.2.7; G 21; Hatz 1974, no. 32.

Æthelred II
First Small Cross

1. York Serclohs Jonsson 1987, a

Vivlings, Hellvi par., 1952.
809 coins, of which 7 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 991.
Disposition: KMK.
Reference: G 24; Hatz 1974, no. 69.

Edward the Martyr
Normal Small Cross

1. Lydford Æthered Jonsson 1987, a

Æthelred II
First Small Cross

2. York Oda Jonsson 1987, a

Gerete, Follingbo par., 1875.
276 coins, of which 21 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 991.
Disposition: KMK but unprovenanced.
Reference: CNS 1.4.21; G 31; Hatz 1974, no. 34.

Edgar
Reform Small Cross

1. Leicester (Styrcar/Wulfstan)

Kvarna, Vamlingbo par., 1906f.
1,008 coins, of which 9 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 994.
Disposition: KMK.
Reference: G 36; Hatz 1974, no. 73.

Edgar

Reform Small Cross

1.	Wareham	Byrhtric	Jonsson 1987, a
2.	[Lympne/Wareham?]	[?]htric	Jonsson 1987, a

Edgar or Edward

Small Cross

3.	[?]	[?]	Jonsson 1987, a

Æthelred II

First Small Cross

4.	Northampton?	Leofrne	Jonsson 1987, a (Ipswich?)

Talings, Rute par., 1868.
59 coins, of which 7 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 994.
Disposition: KMK but unprovenanced. The Reform penny was no doubt melted down.
Reference: G 37; Hatz 1974, no. 80.

Æthelred II

First Small Cross

1.	[?]	Moneyer?	

Mallgårds, Levide par., 1940f.
230 coins, of which 1 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 996.
Disposition: KMK.
Reference: G 40; Hatz 1974, no. 84.

Edgar

Reform Small Cross

1.	York	Sedeman	Jonsson 1987, a

Risungs, Rute par., 1837.
201 coins, of which 88 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 996.
Disposition: KMK but unprovenanced.
Reference: G 41; Hatz 1974, no. 88.

Edgar

Reform Small Cross

1.	Winchester	Man	Jonsson 1987, a

Æthelred II

First Small Cross

2.	Lympne	Æthestan	Jonsson 1987, a
3.	Worcester	Mærtin	Jonsson 1987, a

Hägdarve, Rone par., 1931.
173 coins, of which 46 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 997.
Disposition: KMK.
Reference: G 50; Hatz 1974, no. 39.

Edgar

Reform Small Cross

1.	Chester	Thurmod	Jonsson 1987, b
2.	London	Adelwold	Jonsson 1987, a

Kvarna, Eskelhem par., 1839.
C. 300 coins, of which 118 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 997.
Disposition: KMK but unprovenanced.
Reference: CNS 1.3.23; G 51; Hatz 1974, no. 390.

Edgar

Reform Small Cross

1. Mint and moneyer not recorded

Timans, Roma par., 1849f.
48 coins, of which 10 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 997.
Disposition: KMK but partly unprovenanced.
Reference: G 52; Hatz 1974, no. 23.

Edgar

Reform Small Cross

1.	Wilton	Leofwold	Jonsson 1987, a

Smiss, Tingstäde par., 1970f.
346 coins, of which 123 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 999.
Disposition: KMK, with the exception of one in Uppsala and some in private possession.
Reference: G 67; Hatz 1974, –.

Edward the Elder

Two-line

1.	Mint?	Sigehelm	

Edgar

Reform Small Cross

2.	Barnstaple	[Beorht]ulf	Jonsson 1987, a

Æthelred II

First Small Cross

2.	Winchester	Regnulf	Jonsson 1987, a

Hallsarve, Fardhem par., 1848.
468 coins, of which 123 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 1002.
Disposition: KMK but unprovenanced.
Reference: CNS 1.4.2; G 68; Hatz 1974, no. 108.

Edward the Martyr
Normal Small Cross

1.	Buckingham	Tunulf	Jonsson 1987, a (b?)

Riddare, Hejnum par., 1954f.
125 coins, of which 27 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 1002.
Disposition: KMK but some in private collection.
Reference: G 69; Hatz 1974, –.

Æthelred II
First Small Cross

1.	Lewes	Herebreht	Jonsson 1987, a

Digeråkra, Barlingbo par., 1928.
1,318 coins, of which 358 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 1002.
Disposition: KMK.
Reference: CNS 1.2.4; G 71; Hatz 1974, no. 104.

Edgar
Reform Small Cross

1.	London	Æthelred	Jonsson 1987, a
2.	Oxford	Wulfred	Jonsson 1987, a
3.		Wulfred	Jonsson 1987, b
4.	Winchester	Ælfsige	Jonsson 1987, a

Edward the Martyr
Normal Small Cross

5.	Exeter	Iohan	Jonsson 1987, a
6.	Wilton	Eadwine	Jonsson 1987, a

Æthelred II
First Small Cross

7.	Southampton	Æthelweard	Jonsson 1987, a

Rågåkra, Hejde par., 1856.
294 coins, of which 88 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 1002.
Disposition: KMK but unprovenanced.
Reference: G 73; Hatz 1974, no. 114.

Edgar
Reform Small Cross

1.	Chester	(Ælfstan/Bogea/Dyurlof)	

Edward the Martyr
Normal Small Cross

2.	Canterbury	(Boga)	Jonsson 1987, a

Ytlings, Othem par., 1894.
603 coins, of which 192 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 1003.
Disposition: KMK.
Reference: G 77; Hatz 1974, no. 91.

Edgar
Reform Small Cross

1.	Exeter	Æthelnoth	Jonsson 1987, b
2.	Ipswich	Leofric	Jonsson 1987, c
3.	London	Æthelric	Jonsson 1987, a

Edward the Martyr
Normal Small Cross

4.	Blundered	Blundered	Jonsson 1987, a

Myrungs, Linde par., 1807.
634 coins, of which 298 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 1002.
Disposition: KMK but unprovenanced.
Reference: G 81; Hatz 1974, no. 159.

Edward the Martyr
Normal Small Cross

1.	(Winchester)	(Megered)	Jonsson 1987, b?

St. Enbjänne, Hogrän par., 1881f.
778 coins, of which 269 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 1005.
Disposition: KMK but unprovenanced.
Reference: G 84; Hatz 1974, no. 125.

Edgar
Reform Small Cross

1.	Lincoln	(Eanulf)	Jonsson 1987, b

Edward the Martyr
Normal Small Cross

2.	Tamworth	(Mana)	Jonsson 1987, a

Källgårds, Stenkumla par., 1874f.
481 coins, of which 172 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 1011.
Disposition: KMK but unprovenanced.
Reference: G 91; Hatz 1974, no. 130.

Edgar
Reform Small Cross

1.	Winchester	(Ælfsige/Mægenræd/Regenulf)	

Ekeskogs, Hejde par., 1961.
647 coins, of which 264 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 1017.
Disposition: KMK.
Reference: G 96; Hatz 1974, no. 136.

Edgar
Reform Small Cross

1.	Leicester	Wulfstan	Jonsson 1987, a

Kvie, Lojsta par., 1914.
197 coins, of which 95 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 1017.
Disposition: KMK.
Reference: G 99; Hatz 1974, no. 141.

Edward the Martyr
Normal Small Cross

1.	Oxford	Wulfred	Jonsson 1987, a

Kattlunds, Grötlingbo par., 1866f.
1,104 coins, of which 385 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 1018.
Disposition: KMK but unprovenanced.
Reference: G 106; Hatz 1974, no. 19, 131.

Edward the Martyr
Normal Small Cross

1.	London	(Æthelred/Æthelwald)	

Kännungs, Hellvi par., 1934.
1,564 coins, of which 644 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 1018.
Disposition: KMK.
Reference: G 107; Hatz 1974, no. 166.

Edgar
Reform Small Cross

1.	Winchester	Frythemund	Jonsson 1987, a

Edward the Martyr
Normal Small Cross

2.	York	Elfstan	Jonsson 1987, a

Skäggs, Väskinde par., 1848.
572 coins, of which 221 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 1018.
Disposition: KMK but unprovenanced.
Reference: G 108; Hatz 1974, no. 145.

Edward the Martyr
Normal Small Cross

1.	London	Æthelwald	Jonsson 1987, a/b

Tummelbos, Levide par., 1978f.
486 coins, of which 164 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 1018.
Disposition: KMK with the exception of two in private possession.
Reference: G 109; Hatz 1974, –.

Edgar
Reform Small Cross

1.	Oxford	Wulfred	Jonsson 1987, c
2.	Winchester	Man	Jonsson 1987, b

Hemängen (Bjärby), Etelhem par., 1914f.
822 coins, of which 252 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 1024.
Disposition: Visby and KMK.
Reference: CNS 1.3.34; G 113; Hatz 1974, no. 129, 134, 157.

Edgar
Reform Small Cross

1.	Bedford	Balddic	Jonsson 1987, d

Edward the Martyr
Normal Small Cross

2.	Thetford	Spyrelinc	Jonsson 1987, a

Fardume, Rute par., 1917.
More than 302 coins, of which more than 94 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 1024.
Disposition: KMK but a few in private possession.
Reference: G 114; Hatz 1974, no. 155.

Edward the Martyr
Normal Small Cross

1.	Stamford	Hild	Jonsson 1987, a

Kyrkebys, Hejnum par., 1886.
84 coins, of which 44 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 1024.
Disposition: KMK but mostly unprovenanced.
Reference: G 115; Hatz 1974, no. 158.

Æthelred II
First Small Cross

1.	Exeter	Æthelnoth	Jonsson 1987, a

Amlings, Linde par., 1911.
296 coins, of which 90 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 1025.
Disposition: KMK.
Reference: G 117; Hatz 1974, no. 165.

Edgar
Reform Small Cross

1.	Lewes	Theodgar	Jonsson 1987, a

Edward the Martyr
Normal Small Cross

2.	Canterbury	Ælfstan	Jonsson 1987, a

Bjärby, Sjonhem par., 1869.
827 coins, of which 302 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 1027.
Disposition: KMK but unprovenanced.
Reference: G 121; Hatz 1974, no. 169.

Edgar
Reform Small Cross

1.	Wilton	(Eadwine)	Jonsson 1987, a
2.	Winchester	(Ælfsige/Mægenræd/Regenulf)	

Öster Ryftes, Fole par., 1871.
1,939 coins, of which 638 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 1027.
Disposition: KMK but unprovenanced.
Reference: CNS 1.4.17; G 122; Hatz 1974, no. 142.

Edgar
Reform Small Cross

1.	Hereford	Gyllis	Jonsson 1987, a
2.	Oxford	[Wulf]red	Jonsson 1987, k
3.	Rochester	Sideman	Jonsson 1987, a
4.	Thetford	Ælfgar	Jonsson 1987, a
5.	Wilton	Leofwold	Jonsson 1987, b
6.	Winchester	Man	Jonsson 1987, c/d
7.		Regenold	Jonsson 1987, a

Edward the Martyr
Normal Small Cross

8.	Lydford	Æthered	Jonsson 1987, b

Bosarve, Stånga par., 1939.
528 coins, of which 179 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 1029.
Disposition: KMK.
Reference: G 126; Hatz 1974, no. 171.

Edgar
Reform Small Cross

1.	York	Isulf	Jonsson 1987, a

Æthelred II
First Small Cross

2.	Lincoln	Swerting	Jonsson 1987, a

Enges, Burs par., 1862.
380 coins, of which 112 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 1029.
Disposition: KMK but unprovenanced.
Reference: CNS 1.2.27; G 127; Hatz 1974, no. 168.

Edward the Martyr
Normal Small Cross

1.	Northampton	Mantat	Jonsson 1987, a

Myrände, Atlingbo par., 1893.
More than 1,792 coins, of which more than 510 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 1036.
Disposition: KMK and some in private possession.
Reference: CNS 1.1.19; G 138; Hatz 1974, no. 209.

Edgar
Reform Small Cross

1.	Exeter	Ælfstan	Jonsson 1987, a

Nygårds, Västerhejde par., 1874f.
1,207 coins, of which 632 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 1038.
Disposition: KMK but unprovenanced.
Reference: G 143; Hatz 1974, no. 210.

Edward the Elder
Two-line

1.	Mint?	Æthered	

Edgar
Reform Small Cross

2.	Chester	(Ælfstan/Boga/Deorlaf)	
3.		(Ælfstan/Boga/Deorlaf)	
4.	Leicester	(Styrcar/Wulfstan)	
5.	Oxford	(Æthelwine/Wulfred)	
6.		(Æthelwine/Wulfred)	
7.	Winchester	(Ælfsige/Mægenræd/Regenulf)	

Edward the Martyr
Normal Small Cross

8.	Winchester	(Wihtsige)	Jonsson 1987, a

L. Klintegårda, Väskinde par., 1876.
1,246 coins, of which 478 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 1039.
Disposition: KMK but unprovenanced.
Reference: G 144; Hatz 1974, no. 243.

Edgar
Reform Small Cross

1.	Winchester	(Ælfsige/Mægenræd/Regenulf)	

Karls, Tingstäde par., 1966f.
1,343 coins, of which 803 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 1039.
Disposition: majority at Visby, others at KMK.
Reference: G 146; Hatz 1974, no. 232.

Edgar
Reform Small Cross

1.	Oxford	Wulfred	Jonsson 1987, h
2.	Winchester	Eatstan	Jonsson 1987, b

Edward the Martyr
Normal Small Cross

3.	Shaftesbury	Byrhtwold	Jonsson 1987, a
4.	Southampton	Lanbihit	Jonsson 1987, a

Æthelred II
First Small Cross

5.	Lincoln	Rodbert	Jonsson 1987, a

Ö. Byrummet, Visby, 1869.
1,640 coins, of which 929 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 1039.
Disposition: KMK but unprovenanced.
Reference: G 149; Hatz 1974, no. 237.

Edgar
Reform Small Cross

1.	Leicester	Styrcar	Jonsson 1987, b/c
2.	Oxford	Æthelwine	Jonsson 1987, a

Enge, Bunge par., 1856.
1,142 coins, of which 353 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 1047.
Disposition: KMK but unprovenanced.
Reference: CNS 1.2.19; G 158; Hatz 1974, no. 226.

Edgar
Reform Small Cross

1.	Chester	Thurmod	Jonsson 1987, a

Rosendal, Follingbo par., 1855.
165 coins, of which 72 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 1047.
Disposition: KMK but mostly unprovenanced.
Reference: CNS 1.4.24; G 159; Hatz 1974, no. 236.

Edgar
Reform Small Cross

1.	Winchester	Regenold	Jonsson 1987, b

Botarve, Väte par., 1943f.
349 coins, of which 264 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 1048.
Disposition: KMK.
Reference: G 165; Hatz 1974, no. 227.

Edgar
Reform Small Cross

1.	Bedford	Balddic	Jonsson 1987, a
2.	Lympne	Æthestan	Jonsson 1987, a
3.	Winchester	Mægerd	Jonsson 1987, a

Sigsarve, Hejde par., 1918f.
1,393 coins, of which 273 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 1053.
Disposition: KMK.
Reference: G 172; Hatz 1974, no. 285.

Edgar
Reform Small Cross

1.	Gloucester	Æthestan	Jonsson 1987, b
2.	Newark	Ingolf	Jonsson 1987, a
3.	Shrewsbury	Sigewold	Jonsson 1987, a
4.	Warwick	Oswerd	Jonsson 1987, a

Edward the Martyr
Normal Small Cross

5.	Stamford	Cnapa	Jonsson 1987, a

St. Bjers, Stenkyrka par., 1909f.
876 coins, of which 163 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 1053.
Disposition: KMK.
Reference: G 173; Hatz 1974, no. 286.

Edgar
Reform Small Cross

1.	York	Osmund	Jonsson 1987, a

Petes, Öja par., 1838.
1,611 coins, of which 873 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 1077.
Disposition: KMK but unprovenanced.
Reference: G 188; Hatz 1974, no. 327.

Edward the Martyr
Normal Small Cross

1.	Lincoln	Grind	Jonsson 1987, a/b

Kattlunds, Grötlingbo par., 1842.
More than 1,553 coins, of which 484 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 1088.
Disposition: KMK.
Reference: G 200; Hatz 1974, no. 350.

Edgar
Reform Small Cross

1. Mint and moneyer not recorded

Findarve, Rone par., 1843.
3,560 coins, of which 356 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 1089.
Disposition: KMK but unprovenanced.
Reference: G 201; Hatz 1974, no. 353.

Edward the Martyr
Normal Small Cross

1.	Lympne	(Æthstan)	Jonsson 1987, a/b

Domerarve, Öja par., 1857.
594 coins, of which 280 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 1089.
Disposition: KMK but unprovenanced.
Reference: G 203; Hatz 1974, no. 352.

Edgar
Reform Small Cross

1.	Canterbury	Boga	Jonsson 1987, b/c

Edward the Martyr
Normal Small Cross

2.	Ipswich	Leofrne	Jonsson 1987, a

St. Sojdeby, Fole par., 1910f.
2,300 coins, of which 739 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 1089.
Disposition: KMK.
Reference: CNS 1.4.18–19; G 206; Hatz 1974, no. 354.

Edgar
Reform Small Cross

1.	Stamford	Wulgar	Jonsson 1987, a

Gerete, Fardhem par., 1845.
1,732 coins, of which 589 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 1099.
Disposition: KMK but unprovenanced.
Reference: CNS 1.4.1; G 208; Hatz 1974, no. 333.

Edgar
Reform Small Cross

1.	Norwich	Oslac	Jonsson 1987, a

Mannegårda, Lye par., 1900.
2,447 coins, of which 761 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 1102.
Disposition: KMK but some in private possession.
Reference: G 210; Hatz 1974, no. 359.

Edgar
Reform Small Cross

1.	Bedford	Balddic	Jonsson 1987, b

Edward the Martyr
Normal Small Cross

2.	Thetford	Ælfgar	Jonsson 1987, a

Hallsarve, När par., 1942.
837 coins, of which 464 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 1110.
Disposition: KMK.
Reference: G 212; Hatz 1974, no. 360.

Edward the Martyr
Normal Small Cross

1.	Winchester	Eatstan	Jonsson 1987, a

Unknown findspot before 1834. Part of hoard listed above?
Unknown number of coins
Deposit: unknown.
Disposition: acquired by KMK in 1834.
Reference: (G 900); SHM 676.

Edgar
Reform Small Cross

1.	Thetford	Ælfgar	Jonsson 1987, c

Unknown findspot, before 1839. Part of hoard listed above?
Unknown number of coins (3 recorded, all Anglo-Saxon).
Deposit: unknown (after 991?).
Disposition: three coins acquired by Visby Elementarläroverk on April 12, 1839, of which two were presented by a Visby goldsmith called Lundström, and a third was bought. The two Reform Small Cross pennies were acquired through exchange by KMK in 1879.
Reference: inventory catalogue of Visby Elementarläroverk for April 12, 1839, now in Gotlands Fornsal, Visby; (G 901).

Edgar
Reform Small Cross

1.	Northampton	Baldric	Jonsson 1987, a
2.	York	Wulfric	Jonsson 1987, a

Unknown findspot, 1862 or earlier. Part of hoard listed above?
Unknown number of coins.
Deposit: unknown.
Disposition: acquired by KMK in 1862 from C.J. Berghman, Visby.
Reference: (G 902); SHM 2976.

Edgar
Reform Small Cross

1.	Lincoln	(Æscman)	Jonsson 1987, a

Unknown findspot, 1879 (or earlier?). Part of hoard(s) listed above?
Unknown number of coins.
Deposit: unknown.
Disposition: acquired by KMK in 1879 through exchange with Visby Elementarläroverk.
Reference: (G 903); SHM 6359.

Edgar
Reform Small Cross

1.	Exeter	Ælfstan	Jonsson 1987, b

Edward the Martyr
Normal Small Cross

2.	Canterbury	Wine	Jonsson 1987, a

Æthelred II
First Small Cross

3.	Stamford	Ælfwald	Jonsson 1987, a

Unknown findspot, 1960 or earlier. Part of hoard listed above?
Unknown number of coins.
Disposition: acquired by KMK in 1960, ex Gotland.
Reference: (G 904); SHM 26432.

Edgar
Reform Small Cross

1.	London	Adelwold	Jonsson 1987, c

B) Öland and the Swedish mainland except Skåne and Blekinge

a) Hoards

Djursholm, Danderyd par., Uppland, 1866.
169 coins, of which 64 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 991.
Disposition: KMK but unprovenanced.
Reference: Hatz 1974, no. 30; S 27.

Edward the Martyr
Normal Small Cross

1.	London	(Æthelred/Æthelwald)	
2.	Norwich	(Brantinc)	Jonsson 1987, a

Lännäs, Överlännäs par., Ångermanland, 1885.
351 coins, of which 34 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 995.
Disposition: KMK and some in private possession.
Reference: Hatz 1974, no. 76; S 29.

Edward the Martyr
Normal Small Cross

1.	S[tamford]	[Hil]d	Jonsson 1987, b

Æthelred II
First Small Cross

2.	York	Calgrim	Jonsson 1987, b

Horda, Moheda par., Småland, 1828.
256 coins, of which 36 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 995.
Disposition: KMK but unprovenanced.
Reference: Hatz 1974, no. 75; S 30.

Edgar
Reform Small Cross

1.	Bedford	Balddic	Jonsson 1987, d
2.	Bedford	Balddic	Jonsson 1987, –

Tillhagen, Bolstad par., Dalsland, 1819.
More than 313 coins, of which more than 86 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 999.
Disposition: KMK but unprovenanced.
Reference: Hatz 1974, no. 97; S 37.

Edgar
Reform Small Cross

1. Mint and moneyer not recorded
2. Mint and moneyer not recorded

Föra, Föra par., Öland, 1813.
200–300 coins, of which more than 18 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: unknown but at least after 1002.
Disposition: one coin each in KMK and in Uppsala; others dispersed.
Reference: Hatz 1974, no. 106; S 10.

Edgar
Reform Small Cross

1.	Cambridge	Lifinc	Jonsson 1987, a

Kvarngärdet, Eskilstuna, Södermanland, 1833.
488 coins, of which 97 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 1002.
Disposition: KMK but unprovenanced.
Reference: Hatz 1974, no. 105; S 38.

Edgar
Reform Small Cross

1.	Oxford	Wulfred	Jonsson 1987, d/e/g/i

Näs, Österåker par., Uppland, 1704.
C. 2,800? coins, of which 500–800 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 1006.
Disposition: KMK but unprovenanced.
Reference: Hatz 1974, no. 126; S 39.

Edgar
Reform Small Cross

1.	Oxford	Wulfred	Jonsson 1987, j

Stige, Indal par., Medelpad, 1904.
C. 1,800 coins, of which 385 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 1023.
Disposition: KMK.

Reference: Hatz 1974, no. 152; S 58.

Edgar
Reform Small Cross

1.	Exeter	Æthelnoth	Jonsson 1987, a

Djuped, Styrnäs par., Ångermanland, 1919.
1,444 coins, of which 680 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 1024.
Disposition: KMK.
Reference: Hatz 1974, no. 186; S 61.

Edgar
Reform Small Cross

1.	Gloucester	Æthestan	Jonsson 1987, a

Varnhem, Varnhem par., Västergötland, 1873.
More than 476 coins, of which more than 87 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 1024.
Disposition: KMK but unprovenanced, and Skara.
Reference: Hatz 1974, no. 162, 388; S 63.

Edgar
Reform Small Cross

1.	Lincoln	Eanulf	Jonsson 1987, c

Sandtorp, Viby par., Närke, 1913.
658 coins, of which 204 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 1034.
Disposition: Örebro.
Reference: Hatz 1974, no. 194; S 72.

Edgar
Reform Small Cross

1.	Chichester	Sideman	Jonsson 1987, a

Undrom, Boteå par., Ångermanland, 1846.
1,695 coins, of which 534 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 1047.
Reference: Hatz 1974, no. 278; S 88.

Edgar
Two-line Trefoil/three crosses

1.	Mint?	[?]enn[?]	

Edward the Martyr
Normal Small Cross

2.	Southampton	Eadnoth	Jonsson 1987, a

C) *Skåne and Blekinge*

a) *Hoards*

Baldringe, Baldringe par., Skåne, 1944.
315 coins, of which 1 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 983.
Disposition: Lund.
Reference: CNS 3.1.4; DS 16; Hatz 1974, no. 17.

Æthelred II
First Small Cross

1.	Lincoln	Hafgrim	Jonsson 1987, a

S. Sandby, S. Sandby par, Skåne, 1882.
143 coins, of which 1 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 985.
Disposition: KMK but unprovenanced.
Reference: CNS 3.4.30; DS 17; Hatz 1974, no. 21.

Edgar
Reform Small Cross

1. Mint and moneyer not recorded

Näsby, Tolånga par., Skåne, 1878.
155 coins, of which 85 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 996.
Disposition: KMK but unprovenanced.
Reference: CNS 3.4.41; DS 30; Hatz 1974, no. 85.

Edgar
Reform Small Cross

1.	Northampton	(Mantat)	Jonsson 1987, a

Reslöv, Reslöv par., Skåne, 1842.
546 coins, of which 161 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 996.
Disposition: KMK but unprovenanced.
Reference: CNS 3.4.22; DS 31; Hatz 1974, no. 87.

Edgar
Reform Small Cross

1.	Cambridge	(Albart)	Jonsson 1987, a
2.	Canterbury	(Æthestan)	Jonsson 1987, b
3.		(Bogea)	Jonsson 1987, a
4.	Ipswich	(Lyfingc)	Jonsson 1987, a
5.	Leicester	(Mani)	Jonsson 1987, a
6.	Lincoln	(Eanulf)	Jonsson 1987, a
7.	Lympne	(Byrhtric)	Jonsson 1987, a
8.	Maldon	(Byrhtefrd)	Jonsson 1987, a
9.	Norwich	Erconbold	Jonsson 1987, a
10.		(Erc[on]bold)	Jonsson 1987, b
11.		(Northberd)	Jonsson 1987, a
12.	Oxford	(Wulfred)	Jonsson 1987, d/e/g/i
13.	Rochester	(Sydyman)	Jonsson 1987, b
14.	Stafford	(Ælfsie)	Jonsson 1987, a
15.	Thetford	(Ælfgar)	Jonsson 1987, a
16.	Winchester	(Ælfsige)	Jonsson 1987, b

Edward the Martyr
Normal Small Cross

17.	Buckingham	(Tunulf)	Jonsson 1987, a (b?)
18.	Chester	(Boieea)	Jonsson 1987, a
19.	Exeter	(Iohan)	Jonsson 1987, b
20.	London	(Æthelred)	Jonsson 1987, a
21.	Winchester	(Wulfstan)	Jonsson 1987, a

Æthelred II
First Small Cross

22.	(Exeter)	(Godwine)	Jonsson 1987, a
23.	(Stamford)	(Wulfgar)	Jonsson 1987, b

Värpinge, Lund (S:t Peder), Skåne, 1783.
C. 1,200 coins, of which 599 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 999.
Disposition: KMK and Lund.
Reference: DS 43; Hatz 1974, –.

Edgar
Circumscription Cross

1.	London	Æthelsige	

Reform Small Cross

2.	Ilchester	Æthelferth	Jonsson 1987, a
3.	Winchester	Wihtsige	Jonsson 1987, a

Edward the Martyr
Normal Small Cross

4.	Tamworth	Mana	Jonsson 1987, b

Sturkö, Sturkö par., Blekinge, 1890.
311 coins, of which 109 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 1002.
Disposition: KMK but unprovenanced.
Reference: DS 47; Hatz 1974, no. 116.

Edgar
Reform Small Cross

1.	Leicester	S[tyrcar]	Jonsson 1987, a

Igelösa, Igelösa par., Skåne, 1924.
2,057 coins, of which 1,792 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 1003/4.
Disposition: Lund and some in KMK.
Reference: DS 52; Hatz 1974, no. 124.

Edgar
Reform Small Cross

1.	Chester	M[ælsutho]n	Jonsson 1987, a
2.	Ipswich	Leofric	Jonsson 1987, a
3.	London	Adelwold	Jonsson 1987, b
4.	Norwich	Northberd	Jonsson 1987, b
5.	Oxford	Wulfred	Jonsson 1987, f
6.	Stamford	Ogea	Jonsson 1987, a
7.		Wulgar	Jonsson 1987, c
8.	Wilton	Eadwine	Jonsson 1987, b
9.		Leofwold	Jonsson 1987, c
10.	Winchester	Ælfsige	Jonsson 1987, –

Edward the Martyr
Normal Small Cross

11.	Bedford	Beornwine	Jonsson 1987, a
12.	Lincoln	Levig	Jonsson 1987, a
13.	Tamworth	Deorulf	Jonsson 1987, a
14.	Winchester	Frythemund	Jonsson 1987, a

Edgar/Edward the Martyr
Small Cross

15.	Exeter	[?]	Jonsson 1987, a
16.	Winchester	Wihtsige	Jonsson 1987, a
17.	[?]d	[?]	Jonsson 1987, a

Æthelred II
First Small Cross

18.	Southampton	Issegel	Jonsson 1987, a

(Hemmestorp), (Everlöv par.), (Skåne), before 1945.
909 coins, of which 335 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 1018.
Disposition: private possession.
Reference: CNS 3.4.59; DS 63; Hatz 1974, –.

Edgar
Reform Small Cross

1.	Leicester	Styrcar	Jonsson 1987, d

Gärsnäs, Ö. Herrestad par., Skåne, 1729.
C. 1,500 coins, of which unknown number of Anglo-Saxon
Deposit: after 1018.
Disposition: KMK but unprovenanced.
Reference: CNS 3.4.7; DS 64; Hatz 1974, no. 392.

Edward the Martyr
Normal Small Cross

1.	(Lympne/York)	(Æthelstan/Serkrlauss)

Grönby, Grönby par., Skåne, 1855.
1,461 coins, of which 680 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 1024.
Disposition: KMK but unprovenanced.
Reference: CNS 3.1.28; DS 75; Hatz 1974, no. 156.

Edward the Martyr
Normal Small Cross
1. Lincoln (Grind) Jonsson 1987, a/b

Villie, L. Slågarp par., Skåne, 1876.
936 coins, of which 230 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 1028.
Disposition: KMK but unprovenanced.
Reference: DS 77; Hatz 1974, no. 182.

Athelstan
Two-line
1. Mint? Pitit

Edward the Martyr
Normal Small Cross
2. London (Æthelred/Æthelwald/Adelwold)
3. Wilton (Eadwine) Jonsson 1987, b

Gärestad, Edestad par., Blekinge, 1888.
1,418 coins, of which 239 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 1056.
Disposition: KMK but unprovenanced.
Reference: DS 119; Hatz 1974, no. 296.

Æthelred II
First Small Cross
1. York Colgrim Jonsson 1987, a

D) Sweden (without known find spot)

a) Part of hoards (probably not included above)

Disposition: acquired by KMK before 1738.
Reference: inventory catalogue by C.R. Berch 1738; (SW 900).

Edgar
Reform Small Cross
1. Shaftesbury Byrhtwold Jonsson 1987, a

Edward the Martyr
Normal Small Cross
2. Lympne Æthestan Jonsson 1987, a
3. York Surclos Jonsson 1987, a

Disposition: acquired by Lund before 1763 (ex Stobæus 1745?).
Reference: inventory catalogue in Lund; (SW 901).

Edgar
Reform Small Cross
1. Winchester Ælfsige Jonsson 1987, d

Disposition: acquired by KMK in 1765 from Queen Lovisa Ulrika, ex C.G. Tessin 1746. Based on the composition of the collection it is probable that the coins of the Reform issue were part of a hoard that ended with Hand pennies.
Reference: catalogue of the collection of C.G. Tessin, and catalogue of collection of Queen Lovisa Ulrika in 1762; (SW 902).

Edgar
Reform Small Cross
1. Bedford Balddic Jonsson 1987, c?
2. Gloucester Wynsige Jonsson 1987, a
3. Wilton Boiga Jonsson 1987, a

Disposition: acquired by KMK before 1846.
Reference: Hd 1846; (SW 903).

Edgar
Reform Small Cross
1. Stamford Wulgar Jonsson 1987, b
2. Winchester Ælfsige Jonsson 1987, b
3. Eatstan Jonsson 1987, a
4. Man Jonsson 1987, c

Disposition: acquired by Copenhagen in 1883 from J. Sjökrona, Fältarp, who died in 1874.
Reference: Galster 1964, no. 771; (SW 904).

Edgar
Reform Small Cross
1. Northampton Mantat Jonsson 1987, b

Disposition: acquired by KMK from Lund through exchange in 1879.
Reference: SHM 6.321 and catalogue in Lund (SW 905).

Edward the Martyr
Normal Small Cross
1. Stamford Hild Jonsson 1987, c

Disposition: acquired by Lund from KMK through exchange in 1879.
Reference: SHM 6.321 and catalogue in Lund (SW 906).

Edgar
Reform Small Cross
1. Canterbury Bogea Jonsson 1987, c

Disposition: acquired by Copenhagen in 1880 from D. Holmberg, Landskrona.

Reference: Galster 1964, no. 779; (SW 907).

Edgar
Reform Small Cross

1.	Norwich	Oslac	Jonsson 1987, b

Disposition: acquired by the University of Uppsala before 1917.
Reference: Holm 1917, no. 10 and 13; (SW 908).

Edgar
Reform Small Cross

1.	Exeter	Ælfstan	Jonsson 1987, c

Edward the Martyr
Normal Small Cross

2.	Winchester	Byrnelm	Jonsson 1987, a

Disposition: private collection.
Reference: J. Pedersen, Borås, catalogue 1941, part 1, 16, plate 45, B, E; (SW 909).

Edgar
Reform Small Cross

1.	Lincoln	Eanulf	Jonsson 1987, d

Æthelred II
First Small Cross

2.	Lincoln	Swerting	Jonsson 1987, c

Disposition: presented to BM in 1954 by M. Dolley, ex M.C. Hirsch, Stockholm.
Reference: inventory catalogue in BM; (SW 910).

Edward the Martyr
Normal Small Cross

1.	Winchester	Frythemund	Jonsson 1987, b

Disposition: acquired by KMK in 1983 from Monetarium, Malmö.
Reference: SHM 100.998; (SW 911).

Edgar
Reform Small Cross

1.	Southampton?	Eadgild	Jonsson 1987, a

Disposition: KMK without provenance.
Reference: KMK collection; (SW 912).

Edward the Martyr
Normal Small Cross

1.	Winchester	Wihtsige	Jonsson 1987, b

b) Part of hoards (coins wholly or partly listed among hoards above)

Disposition: acquired by KMK before 1846.
Reference: Hd 1846; (SW 913).

Edgar
Two-line Trefoil/three crosses

1.	Mint?	Adelaver	

Reform Small Cross

2.	Chichester	Cynsige	Jonsson 1987, a
3.	Lewes	Sexbyrht	Jonsson 1987, a
4.	Wareham	[Byrhtric]	Jonsson 1987, b

Disposition: acquired by KMK between 1846 and 1881.
Reference: Hd; (SW 914).

Æthelred II
First Small Cross

1.	Bedford	Ælfstan	Jonsson 1987, b
2.	Exeter	Ælfstan	Jonsson 1987, a
3.	Lewes	Herebriht	Jonsson 1987, a
4.	London	Æthelwold	Jonsson 1987, a
5.	York	Ashetel	Jonsson 1987, a

Disposition: acquired by Visby Elementarläroverk in 1879 through exchange with KMK.
Reference: SHM 6359; (SW 915).

Edgar
Reform Small Cross

1.	Stamford	Wulfgar	Jonsson 1987, d
2.	Winchester	Man	Jonsson 1987, d

Disposition: presented in 1912 to the Ashmolean, Oxford, by A. Evans, ex J. Evans, ex Sweden (probably from KMK).
Reference: Thompson 1967, nos. 418 and 420; (SW 916).

Edgar
Reform Small Cross

1.	Oxford	Æthelwine	Jonsson 1987, d
2.	Oxford	Wulfred	Jonsson 1987, q

Disposition: acquired by BM in 1915 from J.P. Morgan, ex J. Evans, ex Sweden before 1908 (probably from KMK).
Reference: inventory catalogue in BM; (SW 917).

Edward the Martyr
Normal Small Cross

1.	Lydford	Æthered	Jonsson 1987, c

8.3.7. Finland

a) Hoards

Nikkilä, Nousiainen par., Finland proper, 1895.
1,697 coins, of which 273 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 1035.
Disposition: Helsinki.
Reference: F 30.
Edward the Martyr
Normal Small Cross
1. York Ælfstan Jonsson 1987, b

Toumaala, Raisio par., Finland proper, 1835.
618? coins, of which unknown number Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: 11th century.
Disposition: Helsinki but unprovenanced.
Reference: F 53.
Æthelred II
First Small Cross
1. (Wilton) (Eadwine) Jonsson 1987, a?

8.3.8. West Slav Lands

a) Hoards

Meschwitz, Bautzen, Dresden, 1878.
More than 80 coins, of which 1 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 962.
Disposition: dispersed?
Reference: W 4.
Edgar
Type?
1. Mint and moneyer not recorded.

Obrzycko, Szamoluly, Poznan, 1842.
More than 508 coins, of which 1 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 973.
Disposition: dispersed?
Reference: W 6.
Edgar
Reform Small Cross
1. Winchester [Moneyer?] Jonsson 1987, –

Bialogard, Bialogard, Koscalin, before 1904.
Unknown number of coins (48 preserved), of which 1 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 976.
Disposition: Berlin.
Reference: Kluge 1987, 13, no. 3. Malmer 127.
Edward the Martyr
Normal Small Cross
1. Thetford Spyrlinc Jonsson 1987, b

Moskorze (Lens-Ilsenhof), Stargard, Szczecin, 1931f.
More than 293 coins, of which 4 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 991.
Disposition: some in Berlin, remainder dispersed.
Reference: W 22.
Edgar
Reform Small Cross
1. Thetford Ælfgar Jonsson 1987, d

Slupsk (Stolp), Koszalin, 1837.
More than 3,000 coins, of which 5 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 991.
Disposition: some in Berlin, remainder dispersed.
Reference: W 23.
Edgar
Reform Small Cross
1. Leicester Man Jonsson 1987, b

Edward the Martyr
Normal Small Cross
2. Stamford Æscman Jonsson 1987, b

Æthelred II
First Small Cross
3. Northampton Mancrent Jonsson 1987, a
4. York Tumme Jonsson 1987, a

Alexanderhof, Prenzlau, Neubrandenburg, c. 1880.
C. 1,393 coins, of which 2 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 996.
Disposition: dispersed?
Reference: W 28.
Æthelred II
First Small Cross
1. [Lincoln?] [Gr]ind? Jonsson 1987, –

Gralewo (Gralow), Gorzów, Zielona Gora, 1896.
More than 305 coins, of which 4 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 996 (991?)
Disposition: Märkischen Provinzialmuseum, Berlin, but lost during World War II [Information from B. Kluge].
Reference: W 29.

Edgar/Edward the Martyr
Small Cross

1.	[York?]	Iu[stein?]	Jonsson 1987, –
2.	[Mint?]	[Moneyer?]	Jonsson 1987, –

Edward the Martyr
Normal Small Cross

3.	Cambridge	[Moneyer?]	

Niederlandin, Angermünde, Frankfurt a.O., 1900.
942 coins, of which 1 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 996.
Disposition: dispersed?
Reference: W 31.
Edgar
Type?
1. Mint and moneyer not recorded.

Dorow, Grimmen, Rostock, 1973.
1,240 coins, of which 22 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 1002.
Disposition: Schwerin.
Reference: Dolley 1980B; Kluge 1977; W 43.
Edgar
Two-line Trefoil/three crosses

1.	Mint?	[Moneyer?]

Two-line Rosette/[three crosses?]

2.	Mint?	[Moneyer?]

Lisówek (Leissower Mühle), Rzepin, Zielona Gora, 1894.
4,975 coins, of which 124 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 1011.
Disposition: Märkischen Provinzialmuseum, Berlin, but lost during World War II [Information from B. Kluge].
Reference: W 64.
Edgar
Reform Small Cross

1.	Oxford	Wulfred	Jonsson 1987, n
2.	Shaftesbury	Byrhtwold	Jonsson 1987, b
3.	York	Oda	Jonsson 1987, a

Unknown find spot (East Germany/Poland?), before 1892.
Disposition: acquired in 1892 by Berlin from J. Lange.
Reference: Kluge 1987, no. 999.
Æthelred II
First Small Cross

1.	York	Fastolf	Jonsson 1987, –

Unknown findspot (Poland?), pre World War II.
Disposition: Poznań.
Reference: Mikolajczyk 1987.
Edgar
Reform Small Cross

1.	London	Adelwold	Jonsson 1987, e

8.3.9. East Slav Lands

a) Hoards

Kehra, Estonia, 1940.
420 coins, of which 1 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 978/9.
Disposition: Tallinn.
Reference: Dobrowolski & Molvõgin 1986; E 2.
Æthelred II
First Small Cross

1.	Lincoln	Swerting	Jonsson 1987, d

Paljassaar (Karlos), Estonia, 1926.
127 coins, of which 18 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 1015.
Disposition: some in Tallinn but majority dispersed.
Reference: E 7.
Edgar
Reform Small Cross

1.	London	Athelwold	Jonsson 1987, d

Naginscina, Gdov, Russia, 1895.
1,018 coins, of which 614 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 1055.
Disposition: dispersed, but some in Tallinn.
Reference: R 18.
Edward the Martyr
Normal Small Cross

1.	Stamford	Hild?	Jonsson 1987, e

Kolodezi, Kaluga, Russia, 1964.
575 coins, of which 65 Anglo-Saxon.
Deposit: after 1059.
Disposition: Moscow.
Reference: R 19.
Edward the Martyr
Normal Small Cross

1.	Lincoln	Grind	Jonsson 1987, –

Unknown findspot, Estonia ('Tallinn IV'), late 19th century. This hoard is alleged to contain two coins of Edgar, but the coins are in fact from Edward I 1272–1307 [Information from A. Molvõgin].

Unknown findspots (Russia?), before 1843.
Disposition: acquired by Leningrad in 1856 from the Reichel collection.
Reference: Reichel (1843), nos. 121 and 124.

Edgar
Reform Small Cross

1.	Lewes	Sexbyrht	Jonsson 1987, b

Edward the Martyr
Normal Small Cross

2.	Stamford	Hild	Jonsson 1987, d

Unknown findspots (Russia?), years?
Disposition: acquired by Leningrad at various dates.
Reference: Information from W. Lean.

Edgar
Normal Small Cross

1.	York	Fastolf	Jonsson 1987, c

Edward the Martyr
Normal Small Cross

2.	Shaftesbury	Byrthwold	Jonsson 1987, b

Unknown find spot (Baltic countries?), year?
Disposition: acquired by Riga at unknown date.
Reference: Information from T. Talvio.

Edgar
Reform Small Cross

1.	Chester	Mœlsuthon	Jonsson 1987, b

8.4. Coins of the Reform issue found in Sweden listed according to type, mint, and moneyer

FIND	NO	RULER	TYPE	MINT	MONEYER (NORM)	MONEYER (ACTUAL)
G 67	2	Edgar	RSC	Barnstaple	Beorhtwulf	.......ulf
G 210	1	Edgar	RSC	Bedford	Bealdic	Balddic
G 165	1	Edgar	RSC	Bedford	Bealdic	Balddic
SW 902	1	Edgar	RSC	Bedford	Bealdic	Balddic
S 30	1	Edgar	RSC	Bedford	Bealdic	Balddic
S 30	2	Edgar	RSC	Bedford	Bealdic	Balddic
G 113	1	Edgar	RSC	Bedford	Bealdic	Balddic
DS 31	1	Edgar	RSC	Cambridge	Albart	...
S 10	1	Edgar	RSC	Cambridge	Lifing	Lifing
DS 31	2	Edgar	RSC	Canterbury	Æthelstan	...
G 2	1	Edgar	RSC	Canterbury	Æthelstan	Æthestan
G 203	1	Edgar	RSC	Canterbury	Boga	Boga
SW 906	1	Edgar	RSC	Canterbury	Boga	Bogea
DS 31	3	Edgar	RSC	Canterbury	Boga	...
G 73	1	Edgar	RSC	Chester	Ælfstan/Boga/Deorlaf	...
G 143	3	Edgar	RSC	Chester	Ælfstan/Boga/Deorlaf	...
G 143	2	Edgar	RSC	Chester	Ælfstan/Boga/Deorlaf	...
G 3	1	Edgar	RSC	Chester	Deorlaf	Dyurlof
DS 52	1	Edgar	RSC	Chester	Mælsudan	M.......n
G 158	1	Edgar	RSC	Chester	Thormothr	Thurmod
G 50	1	Edgar	RSC	Chester	Thormothr	Thurmod
SW 913	2	Edgar	RSC	Chichester	Cynesige	Cynsige
S 72	1	Edgar	RSC	Chichester	Siduman	Sideman

Find	No	King	Type	Mint	Moneyer (norm)	Moneyer (actual)
G 138	1	Edgar	RSC	Exeter	Ælfstan	Ælfstan
G 903	1	Edgar	RSC	Exeter	Ælfstan	Ælfstan
SW 908	1	Edgar	RSC	Exeter	Ælfstan	Ælfstan
S 58	1	Edgar	RSC	Exeter	Æthelnoth	Æthelnoth
G 77	1	Edgar	RSC	Exeter	Æthelnoth	Æthelnoth
G 172	1	Edgar	RSC	Gloucester	Æthelstan	Æthestan
S 61	1	Edgar	RSC	Gloucester	Æthelstan	Æthestan
SW 902	2	Edgar	RSC	Gloucester	Wynsige	Wynsige
G 122	1	Edgar	RSC	Hereford	Gillys	Gyllis
DS 43	2	Edgar	RSC	Ilchester	Æthelferth	Æthelferth
S 77	2	Edgar	RSC	Ipswich	Leofric	Leofric
G 6	1	Edgar	RSC	Ipswich	Leofric	Leofric
DS 52	2	Edgar	RSC	Ipswich	Leofric	Leofric
DS 31	4	Edgar	RSC	Ipswich	Lifing	…
DS 31	5	Edgar	RSC	Leicester	Manna	….
DS 47	1	Edgar	RSC	Leicester	Styrkarr	S[tyrcar]
G 149	1	Edgar	RSC	Leicester	Styrkarr	Styrcar
DS 63	1	Edgar	RSC	Leicester	Styrkarr	Styrcar
G 31	1	Edgar	RSC	Leicester	Styrkarr/Wulfstan	…
G 143	4	Edgar	RSC	Leicester	Styrkarr/Wulfstan	…
G 96	1	Edgar	RSC	Leicester	Wulfstan	Wulfstan
SW 913	3	Edgar	RSC	Lewes	Seaxbeorht	Sexbyrht
G 117	1	Edgar	RSC	Lewes	Theodgar	Theodgar
G 902	1	Edgar	RSC	Lincoln	Æscman	…
G 84	1	Edgar	RSC	Lincoln	Eanwulf	…
DS 31	6	Edgar	RSC	Lincoln	Eanwul	…
SW 909	1	Edgar	RSC	Lincoln	Eanwulf	Eanulf
S 63	1	Edgar	RSC	Lincoln	Eanwulf	Eanulf
G 71	1	Edgar	RSC	London	Æthelræd	Æthelræd
G 77	3	Edgar	RSC	London	Æthelric	Æthelric
G 904	1	Edgar	RSC	London	Æthelweald	Adelwold
DS 52	3	Edgar	RSC	London	Æthelweald	Adelwold
G 50	2	Edgar	RSC	London	Æthelweald	Adelwold
G 165	2	Edgar	RSC	Lympne	Æthelstan	Æthestan
DS 31	7	Edgar	RSC	Lympne	Beorhtric	…
G 36	2	Edgar	RSC	Lympne/Wareham?	…htric	…htric
DS 31	8	Edgar	RSC	Maldon	Beorhtferth	…
G 172	2	Edgar	RSC	Newark	Ingolfr	Ingolf
G 901	1	Edgar	RSC	Northampton	Baldric	Baldric
SW 904	1	Edgar	RSC	Northampton	Mantat	Mantat
DS 30	1	Edgar	RSC	Northampton	Mantat	…
G 208	1	Edgar	RSC	Norwich	Asleikr	Oslac
SW 907	1	Edgar	RSC	Norwich	Asleikr	Oslac
DS 31	10	Edgar	RSC	Norwich	Erconbold	…
DS 31	9	Edgar	RSC	Norwich	Erconbold	Erconbold
DS 31	11	Edgar	RSC	Norwich	Nordberd	….
DS 52	4	Edgar	RSC	Norwich	Nordberd	Northberd

Find	No	King	Type	Mint	Moneyer (norm)	Moneyer (actual)
G 149	2	Edgar	RSC	Oxford	Æthelwine	Æthelwine
SW 916	1	Edgar	RSC	Oxford	Æthelwine	Æthelwine
G 143	5	Edgar	RSC	Oxford	Æthelwine/Wulfræd	…
G 143	6	Edgar	RSC	Oxford	Æthelwine/Wulfræd	…
G 122	2	Edgar	RSC	Oxford	Wulfræd	….red
G 71	3	Edgar	RSC	Oxford	Wulfræd	Wulfred
G 71	2	Edgar	RSC	Oxford	Wulfræd	Wulfred
DS 31	12	Edgar	RSC	Oxford	Wulfræd	…
G 146	1	Edgar	RSC	Oxford	Wulfræd	Wulfred
S 39	1	Edgar	RSC	Oxford	Wulfræd	Wulfred
S 38	1	Edgar	RSC	Oxford	Wulfræd	Wulfred
G 109	1	Edgar	RSC	Oxford	Wulfræd	Wulfred
DS 52	5	Edgar	RSC	Oxford	Wulfræd	Wulfred
SW 916	2	Edgar	RSC	Oxford	Wulfred	Wulfred
DS 31	13	Edgar	RSC	Rochester	Siduman	…
G 122	3	Edgar	RSC	Rochester	Siduman	Sideman
SW 900	1	Edgar	RSC	Shaftesbury	Beorhtweald	Byrhtwold
G 172	3	Edgar	RSC	Shrewsbury	Sigeweald	Sigewold
SW 911	1	Edgar	RSC	Southampton	Eadgild	Eadgild
DS 31	14	Edgar	RSC	Stafford	Ælfsige	…
DS 52	6	Edgar	RSC	Stamford	Oio	Ogea
SW 915	1	Edgar	RSC	Stamford	Wulfgar	Wulfgar
SW 903	1	Edgar	RSC	Stamford	Wulfgar	Wulgar
G 206	1	Edgar	RSC	Stamford	Wulfgar	Wulgar
DS 52	7	Edgar	RSC	Stamford	Wulfgar	Wulgar
G 122	4	Edgar	RSC	Thetford	Ælfgar	Ælfgar
G 900	1	Edgar	RSC	Thetford	Ælfgar	Ælfgar
DS 31	15	Edgar	RSC	Thetford	Ælfgar	…
G 36	1	Edgar	RSC	Wareham	Beorhtric	Byrhtric
SW 913	4	Edgar	RSC	Wareham	Beorhtric	[Byrhtric]
G 172	4	Edgar	RSC	Warwick	Osweard	Oswerd
SW 902	3	Edgar	RSC	Wilton	Boga	Boiga
G 121	1	Edgar	RSC	Wilton	Eadwine	…
DS 52	8	Edgar	RSC	Wilton	Eadwine	Eadwine
G 122	5	Edgar	RSC	Wilton	Leofweald	Leofwold
G 52	1	Edgar	RSC	Wilton	Leofweald	Leofwold
DS 52	9	Edgar	RSC	Wilton	Leofweald	Leofwold
G 75	1	Edgar	RSC	Wilton	Leofweald	Leofwold
G 121	2	Edgar	RSC	Winchester	Ælfsig/Mægenræd/ Regenulf	…
G 91	1	Edgar	RSC	Winchester	Ælfsig/Mægenræd/ Regenulf	…
G 144	1	Edgar	RSC	Winchester	Ælfsig/Mægenræd/ Regenulf	…
G 143	7	Edgar	RSC	Winchester	Ælfsig/Mægenræd/ Regenulf	…
SW 903	2	Edgar	RSC	Winchester	Ælfsige	Ælfsige

Find	No	King	Type	Mint	Moneyer (norm)	Moneyer (actual)
DS 52	10	Edgar	RSC	Winchester	Ælfsige	Ælfsige
G 71	4	Edgar	RSC	Winchester	Ælfsige	Ælfsige
DS 31	16	Edgar	RSC	Winchester	Ælfsige	…
SW 901	1	Edgar	RSC	Winchester	Ælfsige	Ælfsige
SW 903	3	Edgar	RSC	Winchester	Eadstan	Eatstan
G 146	2	Edgar	RSC	Winchester	Eadstan	Eatstan
G 107	1	Edgar	RSC	Winchester	Freothumund	Frythemund
G 165	3	Edgar	RSC	Winchester	Mægenræd	Mægerd
G 109	2	Edgar	RSC	Winchester	Manna	Man
SW 915	2	Edgar	RSC	Winchester	Manna	Man
SW 903	4	Edgar	RSC	Winchester	Manna	Man
G 41	1	Edgar	RSC	Winchester	Manna	Man
G 122	6	Edgar	RSC	Winchester	Manna	Man
G 159	1	Edgar	RSC	Winchester	Regenold	Regenold
G 122	7	Edgar	RSC	Winchester	Regenold	Regenold
DS 43	3	Edgar	RSC	Winchester	Wihtsige	Wihtsige
G 1	1	Edgar	RSC	York	Fastulfr	Fastolf
G 12	1	Edgar	RSC	York	Fastulfr	…
G 126	1	Edgar	RSC	York	Isulf	Isulf
G 173	1	Edgar	RSC	York	Osmund	Osmund
G 40	1	Edgar	RSC	York	Siduman	Sedeman
G 19	2	Edgar	RSC	York	Unspakr	Unspac
G 901	2	Edgar	RSC	York	Wulfric	Wulfric
DS 17	1	Edgar	RSC	?	…	…
G 200	1	Edgar	RSC	?	…	…
S 37	1	Edgar	RSC	?	…	…
S 37	2	Edgar	RSC	?	…	…
G 51	1	Edgar	RSC	?	…	…
G 15	2	Edgar	RSC	?	…	…
G 15	1	Edgar	RSC	?	…	…
DS 52	11	Edward	NSC	Bedford	Beornwine	Beornwine
DS 31	17	Edward	NSC	Buckingham	Tunwulf	…
G 68	1	Edward	NSC	Buckingham	Tunwulf	Tunulf
G 117	2	Edward	NSC	Canterbury	Ælfstan	Ælfstan
G 73	2	Edward	NSC	Canterbury	Boga	…
G 903	2	Edward	NSC	Canterbury	Wine	Wine
DS 31	18	Edward	NSC	Chester	Boga	…
G 71	5	Edward	NSC	Exeter	Iohan	Iohan
DS 31	19	Edward	NSC	Exeter	Iohan	…
G 203	2	Edward	NSC	Ipswich	Leofwine	Leofrne
G 188	1	Edward	NSC	Lincoln	Grind	Grind
DS 75	1	Edward	NSC	Lincoln	Grind	…
DS 52	12	Edward	NSC	Lincoln	Lifing	Levig
DS 31	20	Edward	NSC	London	Æthelræd	…
S 27	1	Edward	NSC	London	Æthelræd/weald	…
G 106	1	Edward	NSC	London	Æthelræd/weald	…
DS 77	2	Edward	NSC	London	Æthelræd/weald	…

Find	No	King	Type	Mint	Moneyer (norm)	Moneyer (actual)
G 108	1	Edward	NSC	London	Æthelweald	Æthelwald
SW 917	1	Edward	NSC	Lydford	Æthelræd	Æthered
G 122	8	Edward	NSC	Lydford	Æthelræd	Æthered
G 24	1	Edward	NSC	Lydford	Æthelræd	Æthered
G 201	1	Edward	NSC	Lympne	Æthelstan	…
SW 900	2	Edward	NSC	Lympne/York	Æthelstan/Serkrlauss	…
DS 64	1	Edward	NSC	Lympne/York	Æthelstan/Serkrlauss	…
G 127	1	Edward	NSC	Northampton	Mantat	Mantat
S 27	2	Edward	NSC	Norwich	Branting	…
G 99	1	Edward	NSC	Oxford	Wulfræd	Wulfred
G 146	3	Edward	NSC	Shaftesbury	Beorhtweald	Byrhtwold
S 88	2	Edward	NSC	Southampton	Eadnoth	Eadnoth
G 146	4	Edward	NSC	Southampton	Landbeorht	Lanbihit
G 172	5	Edward	NSC	Stamford	Cnapa	Cnapa
G 114	1	Edward	NSC	Stamford	Hild	Hilɑ
SW 905	1	Edward	NSC	Stamford	Hild	Hild
S 29	1	Edward	NSC	Stamford	Hild	…d
DS 52	13	Edward	NSC	Tamworth	Deorwulf	Deorulf
G 84	2	Edward	NSC	Tamworth	Manna	…
DS 43	4	Edward	NSC	Tamworth	Manna	Mana
G 210	2	Edward	NSC	Thetford	Ælfgar	Ælfgar
G 113	2	Edward	NSC	Thetford	Sperling	Spyrelinc
G 71	6	Edward	NSC	Wilton	Eadwine	Eadwine
DS 77	3	Edward	NSC	Wilton	Eadwine	…
SW 908	2	Edward	NSC	Winchester	Beornhelm	Byrnelm
G 212	1	Edward	NSC	Winchester	Eadstan	Eatstan
DS 52	14	Edward	NSC	Winchester	Freothumund	Frythemund
SW 910	1	Edward	NSC	Winchester	Freothumund	Frythemund
G 143	8	Edward	NSC	Winchester	Wihtsige	…
SW 912	1	Edward	NSC	Winchester	Wihtsige	Wihtsige
DS 31	21	Edward	NSC	Winchester	Wulfstan	….
G 81	1	Edward	NSC	Winchester?	Mægenræd?	…
G 107	2	Edward	NSC	York	Ælfstan	Elfstan
G 11	1	Edward	NSC	York	Beolan	Beolan
SW 900	3	Edward	NSC	York	Serkrlauss	Surclos
G 77	4	Edward	NSC	?	///////	//////
G 19	3	Æthelred II	FSC	Bedford	Ælfstan	Ælfstan
SW 914	1/3	Æthelred II	FSC	Bedford/Lewes	Ælfstan/Herebeorht	
G 18	1	Æthelred II	FSC	Bedford/Lewes	Ælfstan/Herebeorht	…
G 20	1	Æthelred II	FSC	Caistor	Leofman	Leman
SW 914	2	Æthelred II	FSC	Exeter	Ælfstan	Ælfstan
G 115	1	Æthelred II	FSC	Exeter	Æthelnoth	Æthelnoth
DS 31	22	Æthelred II	FSC	Exeter?	Godwine?	…
G 6	2	Æthelred II	FSC	Horncastle	Æthelhelm	Adeln
G 36	4	Æthelred II	FSC	Ipswich?	Leofwine	Leofrne
G 69	1	Æthelred II	FSC	Lewes	Herebeorht	Herebreht
DS 16	1	Æthelred II	FSC	Lincoln	Hafgrimr	Hafgrim

Find	No	King	Type	Mint	Moneyer (norm)	Moneyer (actual)
G 146	5	Æthelred II	FSC	Lincoln	Rodbert	Rodbert
G 126	2	Æthelred II	FSC	Lincoln	Swerting	Swerting
SW 909	2	Æthelred II	FSC	Lincoln	Swerting	Swerting
SW 914	4	Æthelred II	FSC	London	Æthelweald	Æthelwold
G 41	2	Æthelred II	FSC	Lympne	Æthelstan	Æthestan
G 71	7	Æthelred II	FSC	Southampton	Æthelweard	Æthelweard
DS 52	18	Æthelred II	FSC	Southampton	Isegl	Issegel
G 903	3	Æthelred II	FSC	Stamford	Ælfweald	Ælfwald
G 5	1	Æthelred II	FSC	Stamford	Wulfgar	Wulgar
SW 913	5	Æthelred II	FSC	Stamford	Wulfstan	Wulfstan
DS 31	23	Æthelred II	FSC	Stamford?	Wulfgar?	. . .
G 67	3	Æthelred II	FSC	Winchester	Regenulf	Regnulf
G 41	3	Æthelred II	FSC	Worcester	Martin	Mærtin
G 6	3	Æthelred II	FSC	York	Ælfstan	Elfstan
SW 914	5	Æthelred II	FSC	York	Asketill	Aschetel
G 19	4	Æthelred II	FSC	York	Beolan	[Beo]lan
S 29	2	Æthelred II	FSC	York	Kolgrimr	Calgrim
DS 119	1	Æthelred II	FSC	York	Kolgrimr	Colgrim
G 24	2	Æthelred II	FSC	York	Oda	Oda
G 21	1	Æthelred II	FSC	York	Serkrlauss	Serclohs
G 37	1	Æthelred II	FSC	[?]	. . .	. . .

9. INDEX OF MONEYERS

The index below covers the period from Athelstan to Æthelred II Benediction Hand. With the exception of Edgar's pre-reform moneyers (denoted with 'E') only moneyers attributed to mints are included. Moneyers recorded during the Reform issue are denoted with 'R'.

NAME		ORIGIN	MINT
Abba		OE	Chester
Abenel		Obscure	Hertford
Abenel		Obscure	Maldon
Abun		Obscure	Exeter
Acwulf	E	OE	?
Adalaver	R	CG	Lincoln
Adalbert		CG	York
Adalger	E	CG	?
Adelbrand		CG	Northampton
Aden	E	Obscure	?
Æfic		OE	Shrewsbury
Ælfgar		OE	London
Ælfgar		OE	Stamford
Ælfgar	R	OE	Thetford
Ælfgeat		OE	London
Ælfhelm		OE	Barnstaple
Ælfhelm		OE	Ilchester
Ælfnoth		OE	Exeter
Ælfnoth	R	OE	London
Ælfnoth	R	OE	Winchcombe
Ælfræd		OE	Chester
Ælfræd		OE	Dorchester
Ælfræd		OE	Wareham
Ælfric		OE	Canterbury
Ælfric		OE	Wallingford
Ælfsige		OE	Barnstaple
Ælfsige		OE	Bedford
Ælfsige		OE	Chester
Ælfsige		OE	Ilchester
Ælfsige		OE	Newport Pagnall
Ælfsige	R	OE	Stafford
Ælfsige	R	OE	Wilton
Ælfsige	R	OE	Winchester
Ælfstan	R	OE	Bedford
Ælfstan	R	OE	Canterbury
Ælfstan	R	OE	Chester
Ælfstan	R	OE	Exeter
Ælfstan		OE	Hereford
Ælfstan		OE	London
Ælfstan		OE	Weardburh
Ælfstan	R	OE	York
Ælfweald		OE	London
Ælfweald	R	OE	Lympne
Ælfweald	R	OE	Stamford
Ælfweard	R	OE	Guildford
Ælfweard	R	OE	London
Ælfwig		OE	Chichester
Ælfwig?		OE	Stamford
Ælfwine		OE	Chester
Ælfwine		OE	London
Ælfwine		OE	Maldon
Ælfwine		OE	Oxford
Æscman	R	OE	Lincoln
Æscman	R	OE	Stamford
Æscwulf		OE	York
Æthelferth		OE	Bath
Æthelferth		OE	Canterbury
Æthelferth	R	OE	Ilchester
Æthelferth		OE	London
Æthelferth		OE	Thetford
Æthelferth		OE	Weardburh
Æthelferth		OE	York
Æthelgar		OE	Exeter
Æthelgar		OE	Shaftesbury
Æthelhelm		OE	Chester
Æthelhelm		OE	Chichester
Æthelhelm	R	OE	Horncastle
Æthelhelm	R	OE	Lvveic
Æthelhelm		OE	Winchester

NAME		ORIGIN	MINT
Æthelmær		OE	Oxford
Æthelmær		OE	Shaftesbury
Æthelman		OE	Southampton
Æthelmod		OE	Chester
Æthelmod		OE	Gloucester
Æthelmund		OE	Oxford
Æthelmund		OE	Wallingford
Æthelnoth	R	OE	Exeter
Æthelnoth		OE	Nottingham
Æthelræd	R	OE	London
Æthelræd	R	OE	Lydford
Æthelric		OE	Bath
Æthelric	R	OE	London
Æthelsige		OE	Bath
Æthelsige		OE	Canterbury
Æthelsige		OE	London
Æthelsige	R	OE	Shrewsbury
Æthelstan	R	OE	Canterbury
Æthelstan	R	OE	Gloucester
Æthelstan	R	OE	London
Æthelstan	R	OE	Lympne
Æthelstan		OE	Shaftesbury
Æthelstan	R	OE	Winchester
Æthelweald	R	OE	London
Æthelweald		OE	Shaftesbury
Æthelweald	R	OE	York
Æthelweard	R	OE	Southampton
Æthelweard		OE	Stamford
Æthelweard		OE	Winchester
Æthelwig		OE	Shaftesbury
Æthelwine		OE	London
Æthelwine	R	OE	Oxford
Æthelwine		OE	Shaftesbury
Æthelwulf		OE	London
Æthelwulf		OE	London
Æthelwulf		OE	Winchester
Albert	R	CG	Cambridge
Albutc	E	Obscure	?
Amalric		CG	Winchester
Amundr		ON	Stafford
Ana	E	OE	?
Andreas	E	Greek	?
Arnthorr		ON	York
Asfrith		ON	Dover
Asfrith		ON	Leicester
Asfrith		ON	London
Asfrith		ON	Rochester
Asfrith		ON	Thetford
Asketill		ON	London
Asketill	R	ON	York
Asleikr		ON	Chester
Asleikr	R	ON	Norwich
Asulfr		ON	Chester
Asulfr	R	ON	Derby
Asulfr		ON	Nottingham
Asulfr	R	ON	York
Authgrimr		ON	York
Authketill?		ON	Chester
Baldric	R	CG	Northampton
Baldwin		CG	Bedford
Baro		Obscure	Chester
Beagræd		OE	London
Bealdic	R	OE	Bedford
Bealdwulf	R	OE	Bedford
Benedictus	E	Latin	?
Beolan	R	OIr	York
Beorhtferth	R	OE	Bath
Beorhtferth		OE	Exeter
Beorhtferth	R	OE	Maldon
Beorhthelm		OE	Shrewsbury
Beorhthelm		OE	Weardburh
Beorhtlaf		OE	London
Beorhtmær		OE	Winchester
Beorhtnoth		OE	Lympne
Beorhtnoth		OE	Winchester
Beorhtræd		OE	Winchester
Beorhtric		OE	London
Beorhtric	R	OE	Lympne
Beorhtric		OE	Wallingford
Beorhtric	R	OE	Wareham
Beorhtsige		OE	Barnstaple
Beorhtsige		OE	Exeter
Beorhtsige		OE	London
Beorhtsige		OE	Wareham
Beorhtsige		OE	Winchester
Beorhtstan		OE	Exeter
Beorhtweald	R	OE	Shaftesbury
Beorhtwulf	R	OE	Barnstaple
Beorhtwulf		OE	Bath
Beornferth		OE	Hertford
Beornheard		OE	Chester
Beornheard		OE	London
Beornhelm	R	OE	Winchester
Beornweald		OE	Wallingford
Beornwine	R	OE	Bedford
Beornwulf		OE	London

NAME		ORIGIN	MINT
Berenhard		CG	Derby
Boga		OE	Bedford
Boga	R	OE	Canterbury
Boga	R	OE	Chester
Boga		OE	Derby
Boga		OE	Northampton
Boga	R	OE	Stamford
Boga	R	OE	Wilton
Boigalet		OE+OF	Chester
Branting		OE	Ipswich
Branting	R	OE	Norwich
Branting	R	OE	York
Brother	E	OE	?
Brun		OE	Exeter
Bruning		OE	Northampton
Burdel		OE	Norwich
Burhstan	R	OE	Gloucester
Cawelin	E	Celtic?	?
Cellach	R	OIr	York
Ceolnoth		OE	London
Cnapa		OE	Chester
Cnapa	R	OE	Stamford
Coenbeorht		OE	Shrewsbury
Cristin		Latin	Oxford
Cylm		Obscure	Newport Pagnall
Cylm	R	Obscure	Northampton
Cynesige	R	OE	Chichester
Cynesige		OE	London
Daniel	E	Hebrew	?
Deall		OE	Winchester
Deorlaf	R	OE	Chester
Deorwulf		OE	Chester
Deorwulf	R	OE	Tamworth
Dodda		OE	Totnes
Dominicus	E	Latin	?
Duda		OE	Canterbury
Duding		OE	Huntingdon?
Dudman		OE	Northampton
Dun		OE	Leicester
Dun	R	OE	York
Durand		OF	Chester
Durand		OF	Worcester
Durand		OF	York
Ead Ælfstan		OE	Exeter
Eadgar		OE	Ipswich
Eadgar		OE	Norwich
Eadgar		OE	Thetford
Eadgild		OE	Canterbury
Eadgild	R	OE	Southampton
Eadhelm		OE	London
Eadhelm	R	OE	Rochester
Eadlaf		OE	London
Eadmær	E	OE	?
Eadmund		OE	Chester
Eadmund	R	OE	London
Eadmund		OE	Shrewsbury
Eadnoth		OE	Bridport
Eadnoth		OE	Chichester
Eadnoth		OE	London
Eadnoth	R	OE	Southampton
Eadric		OE	Chester
Eadric		OE	Lewes
Eadsige		OE	London
Eadsige		OE	Winchester
Eadstan		OE	Lympne
Eadstan		OE	Southampton
Eadstan		OE	Wilton
Eadstan	R	OE	Winchester
Eadstan		OE	York
Eadweald		OE	Canterbury
Eadweald		OE	London
Eadweald		OE	Maldon
Eadwig		OE	London
Eadwine		OE	London
Eadwine		OE	Wallingford
Eadwine	R	OE	Wilton
Eadwulf		OE	Chester
Eadwulf		OE	Northampton
Ealdræd		OE	Malmesbury
Ealdwine		OE	Chester
Ealhmund	E	OE	?
Ealhstan		OE	London
Eanwulf	R	OE	Lincoln
Eardwulf		OE	Oxford
Eardwulf		OE	Stafford
Ecgbeorht		OE	Hereford
Ecgferth		OE	London
Ecgheard		OE	Shrewsbury
Ecglaf		OE	London
Eilafr		ON	York
Eoforheard		OE	Chester
Eoformund		OE	Shrewsbury
Eoformund		OE	Tamworth
Eoforwulf		OE	Tamworth
Ercenbald	R	CG	Norwich
Etram		CG	York

NAME		ORIGIN	MINT
Farman	R	ON	York
Farthegn		ON	Lincoln
Fastulfr	R	ON	York
Fastulfr Boga		ON	York
Fastulfr Hrafn		ON	York
Fastulfr Oda		ON	York
Fawle		Obscure	London
Flodger		CG	Chester
Flodwin	R	CG	Chichester
Folcard		CG	Norwich
Folcred		CG	Dover
Fold		Obscure	Derby
Forthgar		OE	Bedford
Fredic		CG	Derby
Freothubeorht		OE	Southampton
Freothumund	R	OE	Winchester
Freothuric		OE	Chester
Freothuwulf	E	OE	?
Frodald	E	CG	?
Frodger		CG	Bedford
Frodger		CG	Shrewsbury
Frodger		CG	York
Frostulfr		ON	York
Fugolta	E	OE	?
Garheard		OE	Derby
Garheard		OE	London
Garwig	R	OE	Canterbury
Giencea		Obscure	Derby
Gillys		OIr	Chester
Gillys	R	OIr	Hereford
Ginard		CG	Northampton
Giongbeald		OE	Norwich
God		OE	Exeter
God		OE	Ilchester
God		OE	London
God		OE	Shaftesbury
Godfrid	E	CG	?
Goding	R	OE	Lincoln
Goding		OE	Oxford
Godman		OE	Gloucester
Godman		OE	Hereford
Godman		OE	Ipswich
Godric		OE	London
Godwine	R	OE	Exeter
Godwine		OE	London
Godwine		OE	Lydford
Godwine		OE	Stamford
Goldstan	R	OE	Lewes
Golla		OIr	York
Grimbert?	E	CG	?
Grimr	R	ON	Bedford
Grimr	R	ON	Derby
Grimr	R	ON	Lincoln
Grimr	R	ON	Stamford
Grimwald		CG	London
Grind	R	ON	Lincoln
Grith	E	ON	?
Gundfrid	E	CG	?
Gunnarr	R	ON	Derby
Gunnulfr	R	ON	York
Hacuf	E	Obscure	?
Hafgrimr	R	ON	Lincoln
Heahwulf		OE	Chichester
Heardbeorht		OE	Northampton
Herebeorht	R	OE	Lewes
Hereger		CG	York
Hereman	E	CG	?
Heremod		OE	Wallingford
Herewig		OE	Bedford
Herewis		CG	Bath
Herewulf		OE	York
Hild	R	OE	Stamford
Hildic	R	OE	Shrewsbury
Hildulfr	E	ON	?
Hildwine		OE	London
Hreitharr	E	ON	?
Hrodgar		CG	Norwich
Hrodulf	E	CG	?
Hubald		CG	Shrewsbury
Hundulfr		ON	York
Hungar		OE	Rochester
Hunlaf		OE	Hereford
Hunræd	E	OE	?
Hunstan	R	OE	Cambridge
Hunwine		OE	Totnes
Hwætman		OE	York
Hysebeald		OE	Northampton
Ifa	E	OE	?
Igenc	E	Obscure	?
Ighar		CG	London
Ingalbert	E	CG	?
Ingalfred	E	CG	?
Ingalgar		CG	York
Ingalric		CG	Oxford
Ingalric		CG	Winchester
Ingolfr	R	ON	Newark

NAME		ORIGIN	MINT
Iohan		Latin	Chichester
Iohan	R	Latin	Exeter
Iohan	R	Latin	York
Ioli		ON	Derby
Ioli	R	ON	Stamford
Iorothr		ON	Chester
Iosteinn	R	ON	York
Isegl	R	CG	Southampton
Isenbert	E	CG	?
Isulfr	R	ON	York
Kaupman	E	ON	?
Ketill		ON	Exeter
Ketill	R	ON	Northampton
Klakkr		ON	Newport Pagnell
Kolgrimr		ON	Lincoln
Kolgrimr	R	ON	York
Landbeorht	R	OE	Southampton
Landferth	E	OE	?
Lenna	E	OE?	?
Leofdæg		OE	Stamford
Leofgar	R	OE	Dover
Leofgar		OE	Hereford
Leofheh	R	OE	London
Leofhelm		OE	Derby
Leofhelm		OE	London
Leofhelm	R	OE	Northampton
Leofhelm		OE	Shrewsbury
Leofing	R	OE	Cambridge
Leofing		OE	Canterbury
Leofing	R	OE	Ipswich
Leofing	R	OE	Lincoln
Leofing	R	OE	Malmesbury
Leofing	R	OE	Norwich
Leofing		OE	Southampton
Leofing	R	OE	Stamford
Leofman	R	OE	Caistor
Leofman		OE	Chester
Leofman		OE	Ipswich
Leofric		OE	Canterbury
Leofric		OE	Exeter
Leofric	R	OE	Ipswich
Leofric		OE	London
Leofric		OE	Lympne
Leofric		OE	Rochester
Leofric		OE	Tamworth
Leofric		OE	Winchester
Leofsige		OE	Gloucester
Leofsige		OE	Ipswich
Leofsige	R	OE	Northampton
Leofsige		OE	Oxford
Leofsige		OE	Wilton
Leofstan		OE	Bedford
Leofstan		OE	Canterbury
Leofstan		OE	Chester
Leofstan		OE	Lewes
Leofstan		OE	London
Leofstan		OE	Shaftesbury
Leofsunu		OE	Exeter
Leofweald	R	OE	Lympne
Leofweald	R	OE	Wilton
Leofweald		OE	Winchester
Leofwine		OE	Derby
Leofwine	R	OE	Ipswich
Leofwine		OE	Lewes
Leofwine		OE	London
Leofwine	R	OE	Lympne
Leofwine		OE	Maldon
Leofwine	R	OE	Northampton
Leofwine	R	OE	Tamworth
Luda		OE	Exeter
Lytelman		OE	Ipswich
Maccus	E	OIr	?
Mægenræd		OE	Chester
Mægenræd		OE	Derby
Mægenræd	R	OE	Winchester
Mældomen		OIr	Chester
Mælsudan	R	OIr	Chester
Mæthelweald		OE	Oxford
Mamo	E	CG	?
Mancrent	R	Obscure	Northampton
Mangod		CG	Exeter
Mangod		CG	Southampton
Manna		OE	Canterbury
Manna		OE	Chester
Manna		OE	Derby
Manna		OE	Exeter
Manna		OE	Hertford
Manna	R	OE	Leicester
Manna		OE	London
Manna		OE	Norwich
Manna		OE	Nottingham
Manna	R	OE	Stamford
Manna	R	OE	Tamworth
Manna	R	OE	Totnes
Manna	R	OE	Winchester
Manna		OE	Worcester

NAME		ORIGIN	MINT
Manna	R	OE	York
Manning	R	OE	Norwich
Mantat	R	OE	Northampton
Manthegn		OE	Warwick
Manticen		Obscure	Norwich
Marscalc	R	CG	Winchester
Martin		Latin	Chester
Martin		Latin	Derby
Martin		Latin	Shrewsbury
Martin	R	Latin	Worcester
Meinard	E	CG	?
Morgna	E	OE	?
Nordbert	R	CG	Norwich
Oban		Obscure	York
Oda		OE	Guildford
Oda	R	OE	York
Ogeman	E	OE	?
Oio	R	CG	Stamford
Osbern	R	CG	Wilton
Osbern		CG	York
Osmær	R	OE	Warwick
Osmund	R	OE	York
Osweald		OE	Lewes
Osweald	R	OE	Northampton
Osweard	R	OE	Warwick
Oswig		OE	Bedford
Oswulf		OE	Ipswich
Oswulf		OE	London
Oswulf		OE	Winchester
Othilric		CG	Derby
Othilric		CG	Oxford
Otic		OE	Winchester
Paulus		Latin	Chester
Prim		OE?	Huntingdon
Radulf		CG	Northampton
Rædwine	E	OE	?
Ragnaldr		ON	York
Randwin	E	CG	?
Regenbald	R	CG	York
Regenfrid	E	CG	?
Regenold		CG	Exeter
Regenold	R	CG	Winchester
Regenulf		CG	Chester
Regenulf	R	CG	Winchester
Regenward		CG	Oxford
Reinard	E	CG	?
Riculf	R	CG	Stamford
Rodbert	R	CG	Lincoln
Rodbert		CG	Winchester
Sælc		Obscure	Chester
Sæwine		OE	Wilton
Saydtinc	E	Obscure	?
Scadwine		Obscure	York
Seaxbeorht	R	OE	Lewes
Secgga		OE	Norwich
Seleweald	R	OE	Oxford
Serkrlauss	R	ON	York
Sibwine		OE	London
Siduman	R	OE	Chichester
Siduman	R	OE	Rochester
Siduman	R	OE	York
Siduwine		OE	London
Siduwine		OE	Rochester
Sigeferth		OE	Chester
Sigegar		OE	Derby
Sigeland		CG	Oxford
Sigeweald		OE	Derby
Sigeweald		OE	Maldon
Sigeweald	R	OE	Shrewsbury
Sigewulf	R	OE	Stafford
Sigewulf		OE	Wallingford
Skaning		ON	York
Snækollr		ON	York
Snell		OE	Chester
Spereman		OE	Tamworth
Sperling	R	OE	Thetford
Sprok	E	Obscure	?
Styr	R	ON	York
Styrkarr	R	ON	Leicester
Styrkarr	R	ON	York
Sumarlithr		ON	Nottingham
Sumarlithr		ON	York
Sunnulfr	R	ON	York
Svartkollr		ON	York
Svertingr	R	ON	Lincoln
Svertingr		ON	Norwich
Svertingr	R	ON	York
Swethyse		OE	London
Sweting		OE	London
Teothic		OE	Chester
Theodgar	R	OE	Lewes
Theodgild		OE	Lincoln
Theodræd		OE	London
Theodwulf		OE	Canterbury
Thor...		ON	Lincoln
Thorfrithr	R	ON	Northampton

NAME		ORIGIN	MINT
Thorketill	R	ON	Torksey
Thorketill		ON	York
Thormothr	R	ON	Chester
Thormothr		ON	York
Thorsteinn		ON	Leicester
Thorsteinn	R	ON	York
Tidgar		OE	Chester
Toki		ON	Winchester
Torhthelm		OE	Canterbury
Torhthelm		OE	Lympne
Tota		OE	Chester
Tuma	R	OE	York
Tuna		OE	Exeter
Tunwulf	R	OE	Buckingham
Ubeinn		ON	Lincoln
Uglubarthr	E	ON	?
Ulfr		ON	Chester
Ulfr		ON	York
Uri (Iri?)	R	ON	York
Uspakr	R	ON	York
Wacer	R	OE	Stamford
Wærstan	E	OE	?
Waltferth		CG	Ipswich
Warin		CG	Northampton
Wigferth	R	OE	London
Wigheard		OE	Chester
Wigmund		OE	Stafford
Wihtmund		OE	Stafford
Wihtsige		OE	Gloucester
Wihtsige	R	OE	Winchester
Wihtwulf		OE	Bridport
Wilbeorht	R	OE	Ipswich
Willaf		OE	Shrewsbury
Willebald		CG	Lewes
Wilmund		OE	Cambridge
Wilsige	E	OE	?
Wine		OE	Bridport
Wine	R	OE	Canterbury
Wine	R	OE	Lympne
Wine	R	OE	Stamford
Wine		OE	Tamworth
Winemær?	E	OE	?
Wineman		OE	Northampton
Wineman	R	OE	York
Wulfbeald		OE	Bath
Wulfgar		OE	Chester
Wulfgar	R	OE	Stamford
Wulfgar		OE	Totnes
Wulfheard		OE	Winchester
Wulfhelm		OE	Ilchester
Wulfhelm		OE	London
Wulflaf		OE	Chester
Wulfmær	R	OE	Hertford
Wulfmær		OE	London
Wulfræd	R	OE	Oxford
Wulfric		OE	Dover
Wulfric		OE	London
Wulfric		OE	Wareham
Wulfric	R	OE	York
Wulfsige		OE	Wareham
Wulfsige		OE	Winchester
Wulfsige		OE	York
Wulfstan		OE	Chester
Wulfstan		OE	Derby
Wulfstan	R	OE	Leicester
Wulfstan		OE	London
Wulfstan		OE	Oxford
Wulfstan	R	OE	Stamford
Wulfstan	R	OE	Wallingford
Wulfstan	R	OE	Winchester
Wulfstan		OE	York
Wulfwig		OE	Canterbury
Wynhelm		OE	Oxford
Wynsige	R	OE	Gloucester
Wynsige		OE	London
Wynsige		OE	Winchester
Wynstan		OE	Bath
Wynstan		OE	Chichester
Wynstan	R	OE	Southampton
Wynstan	R	OE	Totnes
…ald	R	?	Louth

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COMMENTATIONES DE NUMMIS SAECULORUM IX-XI
IN SUECIA REPERTIS. NOVA SERIES.

1. Kenneth Jonsson, *The New Era. The Reformation of the late Anglo-Saxon Coinage*. 1987.